THE SEARCH FOR SENSE : DANCE IN YOGYAKARTA

by

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ABSTRACT

Dance plays an important role in how Javanese people represent themselves to each other and to non-Javanese. This study explores dance forms associated with the Sultan's palace in Yogyakarta, taken up by various interest groups after Indonesian independence. Part One presents a survey of current theoretical approaches to dance for anthropology, their limitations being illustrated by an analysis of palace dance, particularly the classification of forms, movements, and modes, and raises questions about the usefulness of the term 'dance', used here for convenience, not as an essentialised category (Chapters II-III). Implications are developed with reference to fields of aesthetics and semiotics, and I consider the relation of representations to reality (Chapter IV). Part Two introduces data about the traditional associations of these representations. Classifications and model-making in observer and informant accounts lead to how people make sense and how presuppositions generate discourses which allow meaningfulness to be delayed rather than fulfilled, and it is argued that 'poetic' features of this be rejected as constituting grounds for the formulation of the Javanese as 'other' (Chapters V-VI). How these styles of explanation affect our understanding of metaphysical dimensions is explored, from accounts of the self through Javanese theories of knowledge, to current Javanese polemics and what these make theories of communication look like, and how ideas about the past are used in the contest to define authenticity in 'classical' dance in Yogyakarta today (Chapters VII-VIII).

The problem of closure in categories is the broadest concern of this study, particularly 'dance', 'Java', and also 'anthropology'. The perspectival approach aims to do justice to the ethnography, and to overcome misrepresentations arising from translations of indigenous terms and discourses. Though ignorance leads the fieldworker to take things too literally, informant ignorance is recognised. What data are is a matter of interpretation, and the conclusion hesitates to posit, and asks instead that we acknowledge our own tendency to create and rest on images, and take more note of what we are doing when we represent other societies to ourselves.

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FOREWORD

This study is based on fieldwork conducted in Yogyakarta, a province in South Central Java, for sixteen months, from October 1982 until February 1984. The dance in question is chiefly that of the palace of the Sultan of Yogyakarta (colloquially abbreviated to Yogya) and should not be confused with what is often called 'Javanese dance', namely the forms of the other court in Central Java, in Surakarta (or Sala), which is located some fifty kilometres east of Yogyakarta. The relation of the Yogyakartan palace to the Kasunanan of Surakarta, and to other princely courts will be discussed in due course, as will also the relation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta to the Republic of Indonesia, which was declared an independent state in 1945. As Yogyakarta itself was only founded in 1755, we are dealing with modern polities.

For most of the fieldwork time I lived in a community (kampung) to the west of the palace region. The community was a mixture of indigenous householders, many of whom worked in the palace or whose parents had done so during their lives, and of students from Java and other parts of Indonesia studying in nearby schools and institutes for higher education: nearby were both Islamic and Christian schools and the government art college, ASRI. The household in which I lived consisted of a Javanese Catholic couple who acted as entrepreneurs, their two grandsons, and a number of lodgers, male and female, ranging from sixteen to thirty years in age. The community had in the 1970s been the home of a well-known experimental theatre, still remembered, but no longer active; famous palace choreographers and musicians also lived there. So 'traditionalism' and 'modernism', characteristics of a town acclaimed as a centre of culture and education, were well represented in the community where I lived.

Active participation in dance training was necessary to gain credibility and to facilitate the formation of questions in physical as well as verbal terms, and this was done regularly for one year at Pamulangan Bĕksa Ngayogyakarta, and sporadically in the homes of two female dancers from the palace family. When not training, I frequented training centres as an observer, as well as attending as many full performances as I was able. I attended nearly every Sunday morning dance practice held in the palace for tourists, as well as the palace performances.

Language training in Javanese was continued throughout fieldwork for reasons of ethnography as well as linguistic skills. I had previously lived in East Java (two years) and Yogyakarta (1979) while teaching English language and literature with Voluntary Services Overseas.

The local currency is the Indonesian rupiah, and during fieldwork this fluctuated between the rate of Rp 1,500 and Rp 1,000 to the pound sterling.

This work would have been impossible without the support of the following: the Anthropology Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, of which I am a member, with special thanks to Dr. Mark Hobart for his patience as a supervisor, and to Nicholas Tapp for his encouragement and comments on drafts in progress; the SSRC who funded me with a studentship; the Indonesian Institute of Science and Education (Lembaga Ilmu dan Pendidikan Indonesia) who mediated the project in Indonesia; The Faculty of Philosophy at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, which acted as my sponsor; and to the Dutch Department of Bedford College, University of London - to Paul Vincent and Dr. Guest in particular. Invaluable support during fieldwork was

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Wardhana; and last but not least, Tuti, Anggara, and all the other bĕdhaya, srimpi, and ringgit in Yogyakarta. Those not listed are also remembered with gratitude.

A note is necessary on the spelling and pronunciation of Javanese and Indonesian terms.

Indonesian and Javanese spellings were rationalised in 1972 and 1973 respectively, and this is applied in this thesis, except in the case of personal names where it is up to the individual to choose spelling which he or she uses: sometimes a combination of old and new, and sometimes variable. Most important to note is the old spelling 'oe' /u/ for the modern 'u'. Confusion may also arise if one fails to note that modern spellings 'j' /j/ and 'y' /y/ in the old system were 'dj' and 'j'.

There are three 'e' sounds in Javanese; and I follow convention in not distinguishing 'é' /é/ and 'è' /ɛ/ but just indicate the pĕpĕt 'ĕ' /ə/, sounded like the last syllable in 'Rita'. In spelling it often varies with 'a'. In Javanese (but not Indonesian), 'a' is pronounced 'o' /ɔ/ as in 'yoyo', with some exceptions (see Horne 1974). 'Bĕdhaya' should thus be pronounced /bəḍɔyɣ/ (bĕdhoiyo).

Indigenous terms underlined will represent the low Javanese (ngoko) or the term used in all the levels without being distinguished. Terms restricted to high and honorifics (krama, krama inggil, krama andhap) will be marked k., k.i., and k.a., respectively, and those of the middle (madya) and low (ngoko) m. and ng. where necessary. Indonesian words or Javanese words used in Indonesian with Indonesian spellings will be marked B.I.; Old Javanese, Sanskrit and Arabic words will be marked O.J., Skt, and Ar.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: At First Sight

First impressions are rarely more than a prelude to a different kind of appreciation, and this chapter will be no exception, having as its aim but a brief mapping of the field of study in terms of co-ordinates which will be taken up in subsequent argument. This introduction serves simply to plant a few ethnographic markers in order to establish where the work is located and to sketch in some theoretical antecedents to suggest why it has been done the way it has.

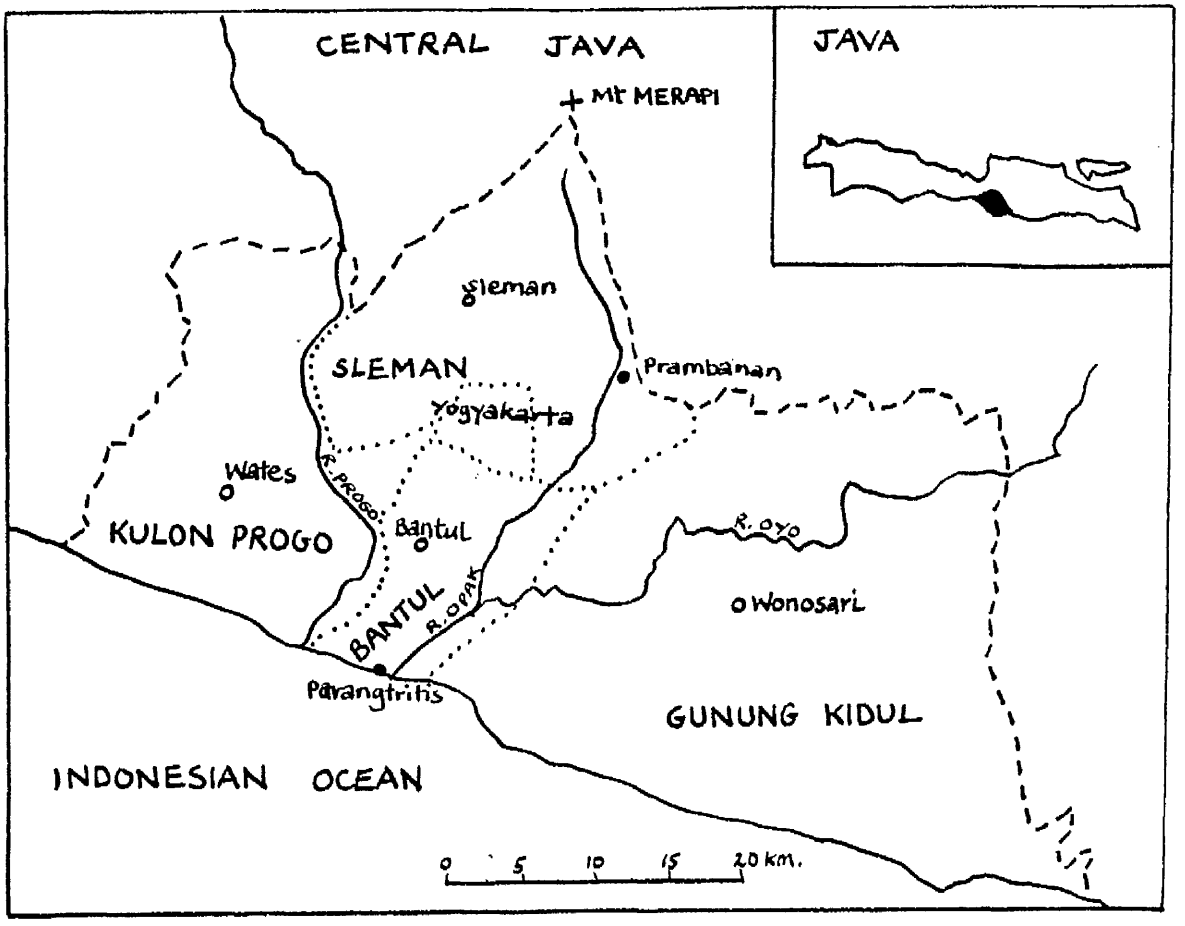
The notion of 'dance' has provided the dominant frame to research, and the thesis itself, as its title suggests, posits search as an active part, dance becoming both means to, and for, the questions to be dealt with.

The dance in Yogyakarta refers chiefly to forms which are understood, by those who are concerned with such things, as belonging to the palace of the Sultan. Initial bearings then will be provided about Yogyakarta, the Sultan and his palace, the Kasultanan, and the dances. Then a second set of references will be introduced in an overview of academic approaches to the region, their ethnographic tone, and the problems which have been generated as a result of this.

i) The Locality

The name Yogyakarta denotes both an urban centre (kotamadya) and one of the twenty-seven provinces which constitute the Indonesian Republic, its formal title being the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY). Located in Southern Central Java, the Special Region of

Fig.1. The Special Region of Yogyakarta



Key: ..... Kabupaten (Regency) boundary
--- Provincial boundary
o Kabupaten capital
● other town or village

Yogyakarta comprises four regencies (kabupaten) with the town at their centre (see Fig.1). As of the last census (1982) the population of this area stands at 2,821,037 inhabitants, 400,000 of whom live in the urban sector, thirty-two square kilometres (Mongrafi DIY 1979; Penduduk Propinsi DIY 1982).[1]

Fieldwork centred on the town itself, supplemented by occasional forays in keeping with the palace's ritual cycle of visits to the mountain, Gunung Mĕrapi, in the north-east, and the sea, to the south coast between the villages of Parangtritis and Parangkusuma, and to other sites favoured by traditional practice. As will be shown, the town itself participates in a highly underdetermined cosmological scheme which is related to other classificatory strategies. The name 'Yogya' because of this is a living element in the ethos both recorded in and constitutive of this study, having as it does both a literal and a metaphysical presence, replete with resonances to conjure with.[2] Indeed, had it not been for this spell, I would not have returned there to conduct fieldwork. The modernity of Yogyakarta, founded in AD 1756 by a faction of the ruling line based some fifty kilometres to the east in the capital of Surakarta, does not lessen the capacity it has to evoke strong personal identifications with the locality, a vital factor in the consideration of the dance practices which are also characterised as of Yogyakarta. Ideational and influential forces aside, the locality is also constituted by its organisational structure, which is described as it exists in the urban sector, though attention will be drawn to the way in which this smaller-scale system mirrors the organisation of the rural administrative sectors.

The town is divided into fourteen subdistricts or wards (kecamatan), each responsible to a camat who participates in what is known as the Wilayah Kecamatan.[3] Each ward divides further into neighbourhoods (kampung, desa, in official parlance Rukun Kampung or RK) headed by a locally elected unsalaried volunteer known as Pak RK (a post equivalent to the rural post of Pak Lurah, 'village head'). It should be noted that the position of lurah in 1974 was introduced into the urban sector as a salaried government appointment, part of what is seen as intensification of lower-level surveillance. On average three are three or four lurah to each camat, and three or four Pak RK to each lurah, though this will vary, each kecamatan having its own dimensions and population. One such lurah explained that the lurah is twin to the Pak RK: one organises, the other carries out the work.

The smallest social unit is the street community with direct responsibility to the Pak RT (Rukun Tetangga, in rural sectors dukuhan), locally elected and unsalaried. Pak RT are responsible for general security, organise the night watch (ronda), and function as mediators among that most fractious of social units, the local community, which divides emotionally, not organisationally, beyond RT into factions which Sullivan has usefully dubbed 'cells' (1980:14ff.).

Officially then, I inhabited the kecamatan of Wirabrajan, in one of eight neighbourhoods (RK), Ketanggungan comprising some 785 households, divided into eleven street communities (RT) of which mine was Number IX. Ketanggungan had already been linked with another RK and assigned to a Pak Lurah who controlled thirty-six Pak RT and some 1,911 households (as of 1984).

These neighbourhoods and communities serve as units for the organisation of recreational activities such as music-making, singing, and dancing. For the 1983 Independence festivities, the kalurahan Wirabrajan provided a local carnival, each Pak RT having kept a fund to contribute to expenses for costumes and so forth. Religious activities are also catered for, and in Islam, the community will have as much to do with a nearby Musholla, a small house of worship in the RK, as with the fully-endowed Mosques, especially at meetings which follow the evening Maghrib prayer. Apart from these structuring organisational functions, an identification is provided. Within Yogyakarta, persons are identified by the kampung they come from, this being the smallest named social unit, RT having no names.

The palace or court (kraton)[4] of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, the Kasultanan, is situated within the ward named Kraton, an area of four square kilometres known generally as Beteng (fort), enclosed by stout white walls. In the early days of the principality, the areas immediately beyond this fortification to the east, south and west were allocated to the corps of palace soldiers after which sub-districts and neighbourhoods are named to this day. In the neighbourhood of Ketanggungan, after the Kĕtanggung corps of palace soldiers, landholding still reflects the professional apportioning. Today, however, there are no more palace soldiers, and court officials (abdidalĕm) of all ranks live intermingled in communities with members of other classes and origins. The exception to this is the Kraton ward, its regulations excluding foreigners (this includes Chinese) from taking up residence within the fort walls. Land here is owned by the Sultan and is theoretically inalienable although houses and land use may be purchased and handed down as an inheritance.

The use of the terms 'inside' and 'outside' (jĕro and jaba) occur with reference to this fortification.

Despite these meshes of boundaries and local identifications, there is mobility both within the urban sector and between it and the four rural regencies, mostly in terms of material exchange. The Special Region of Yogyakarta is predominantly agrarian, producing rice and sugar. Urban production focuses on crafts, mainly bathik cloth and leatherwork, and there are no major industries in the region. The central market in town is located to the north of the palace and, like other local markets, opens daily. Other specialised markets both in and out of town operate on the old five-day system, the Javanese week of Lĕgi, Paing, Pon, Wage, Kliwon. Thus Pasar Pon is a livestock market held on Pon; but Pasar Lĕgi is no longer restricted to Lĕgi and opens daily, although informants reckon it is biggest on Lĕgi; Kliwon, Paing and Wage have been lost in Yogyakarta. Outside the town Bantul (to the south) has Pon, Godean (to the west) has Kliwon, and Wonosari (to the south-east) has a cattle market on Wage.

Mobility across boundaries and interchange apply beyond the Special Region of Yogyakarta to the rest of Central Java, to East Java, Sunda (West Java), to the capital, Jakarta, and beyond this to the other twenty-six provinces where live the three hundred or so ethnic groups which form the population of the Indonesian Republic. Yogyakarta's character as an educational centre reflects this wider mobility. As landless farmers from the region are transferred to other islands on government transmigration projects, the children of wealthy or educated outer islanders come into Java to be trained. This modern and progressive trend is one aspect of the town. The other is its strong adherence to pre-independence concepts, to which I shall now turn.

ii) The Sultan and his Palace

The Special Region of Yogyakarta still has a titular Sultan[5] and a possible succession although this was constitutionally terminated in 1946. In 1950, the Sultan was officially made Governor of the DIY Province, while KGAA Pakualam, Prince of Yogya's secondary court, which was established under British rule (1811-16) with HBI's sixth son, Natakusuma, as its first incumbent (Ricklefs 1974:352, see also Lindsay 1980), became the Vice-Governor. While political authority is invested in and legitimised by a republican ideology, expressed for the Sultan in his Governorship, this formulation does not exist in complete contrast to the Yogyakartan understanding of the Sultan's position prior to 1945 under Dutch, British,and Japanese colonisations. The political status of the present Sultan Hamĕngku Buwana IX (henceforth HBIX) as republican is rooted in ideas of the Yogyakartans about their own political effectiveness and their revolutionary identity, not merely expressed in guerrilla activities leading up to and continuing after 1945, but in the very conditions which led to the establishment of Yogyakarta following the Treaty of Giyanti in AD 1755. (Selosoemardjan 1962: Ch.5 for developments in the 1950s). The role of dance in this self-concept will be elaborated during the course of argument.

The ambivalent nature of HBIX's image and reputation in Yogyakarta today is best illustrated by a contrast with the contemporary fate of the ruler of the original house of Central Java, Susuhunan Paku Buwana of Surakarta. While the Special Region of Yogyakarta's political boundaries are not very different from the territories of the Principality classed as nĕgara agung ('big lands'), (the outlying mancanĕgara lands

having been confiscated after the Java war in AD 1830), Surakarta has no special administrative status, subsumed as it is to the Province of Central Java administered from the coastal Semarang. Although both palaces - the Kasultanan in Yogyakarta and the Kasusanan in Surakarta - are open to the public in part, the latter is reckoned to be more of a museum, no longer a living kraton, no longer a ruling house.[6] This idea is one in an extensive series of Yogyakartan interpretations of Surakarta, which will be shown as part of an expression of difference which reaches its purest formulation in the dance practice. What is spoken of as the traditions of Central Java by scholars generally refers to those of Surakarta, if not of the Susuhunan's palace, then of the princely court, the Mangkunĕgaran, established at the same time as Yogyakarta: this is evident in studies of dance (Van Lelyveld 1931; Holt 1937, etc.).

The qualities and strategies which created the conditions enabling HBIX, unlike his Surakartan counterpart, to emerge strongly at the end of the period of Japanese colonisation (1942-45), having come to the throne only in 1940, should be understood as an admixture of pragmatic political realism - one lesson, no doubt, learnt from his education in the Netherlands - and leadership in a form which would appeal to the Javanese sense of tradition (see Roem et al., 1982). He responded to his position as Sultan by treating it as an effective administrative role instead of as the symbolic one of former days, inscribed in a hallowed semi-divine sphere, repository of powerful heirlooms (pusaka) (one aspect of kraton), protected from realpolitik by a chief minister (pĕpatih dalĕm) who controlled eight heads of staff (nayaka); the ministerial buildings now, significantly, house the headquarters of the Special Region of Yogyakarta's

central administration. He managed also to satisfy expectations of an ideal leader, epitomised for the Yogyakartans by their first Sultan, a figure composed of an assortment of fictions and projections which constitute Javanese history expressed in its chronicles (babad); the other kind, VOC (Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie) archival history, shows a different set of representations, as will become evident presently. As HBI is credited with the 'creation' of many palace dance forms, I shall return to him in due course. The present Sultan was responsible for opening up the palace to tourists in keeping with the spirit of the new republic. He also earned credit (after an initial shock) by offering part of the palace to be used by the newly-founded Gadjah Mada University in 1946. It has been this modernism, ironically, which has helped to sustain the traditional bases of Yogyakartan identifications, something which has failed to happen in Surakarta, although the Susuhunan made a belated gesture in letting the front part of his palace to the local government music and dance academy, ASKI. To close the contrast between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, it might be noted that in the palace of the Susuhunan, officials wear civil servant uniforms for daily use, while in Yogyakarta traditional dress is worn: the appearance is deceptive, initially, but may be understood as a mark of Yogyakarta's more self-contained autonomous style and identification with an idiom of rebellion, despite its contemporary though ambiguous definition in relation to the Indonesian Republic.

While the young HBIX won credibility in circles of conflicting interest in Yogyakarta, assisted no doubt by the dramatic recapture of the town in 1949 after the Dutch had retaken it, his ensuing status in republican circles paradoxically threatened to undermine the bases of

his local power. Vice-President of the Republic from 1973-78, and increasingly away from Yogyakarta, he handed over his responsibilities in the Special Region of Yogyakarta to his subordinate; only in August 1983 did he start to show signs of resuming his full responsibilities at home. A recent marriage to a non-Javanese divorcee, guaranteed to alienate the tightly-knit Yogyakartan aristocracy (tightly-knit in the face of such behaviour) has generated criticism in the palace and the town. It is his absence above all which creates a diminution of his credibility (implied in the Javanese term sĕkti, a vexed term discussed later). This disaffection is further exacerbated by confusion about the succession, a moot point as the Sultan is in his mid-seventies, and concomitantly, the fate of the palace buildings, the upkeep of which today wreaks bitter strife within the family (sĕntana-dalĕm) and personnel of the palace, who indeed might also be concerned about their future employment and status. Dissatisfaction with the possible heir does not ease the situation.[7] As for maintenance, the thousands of tourists who tramp through the palace weekly, charged Rp 100 if Indonesian, Rp 200 if foreign, are failing to provide the necessary cash, a lack which is speculated on darkly by personnel outside of the palace section responsible for tourism.

A word about the hierarchy of palace officials is necessary here. Abdidalĕm are people who work for the Sultan for a wage. The situation before Independence was of a tripartite hierarchy, the jaba (outside) (pĕpatihan) officials working in the Kĕpatihan (ministry), and the inner (jĕro) officials working within the kraton: these used to be classed in three groups or golongan: bĕdhaya (see below), prajurit (soldiers), and punakawan (attendants). Today they are all punakawan, and divided

into thirteen sections which deal with different aspects of palace administration and activities. Officials now as formerly are either palace kin or local people who have an interest in traditions and who are already retired from their previous employment. For example, one dancer was recruited in the 1920s for his skill as a painter at jajar level - he had to adorn the pillars and chronograms in the palace, and on becoming involved in dance, was made an abdidalĕm bĕdhaya. The hierarchy, briefly, has as its lowest rank the unlettered and unpaid apprentices (magang); next come jajars, and then bĕkĕl, lurah, wĕdana, riya, bupati.[8] There are names which apply both to professional and hierarchical rankings, higher ranks having names ending in -mardawa, -nĕgara, - diningrat, etc. Under HBVIII there were eight thousand such officials (it is not clear whether this figure included the soldiers, who by the mid-twentieth century had been incorporated into the Dutch army, Koninklijk Netherlands Indisch Leger (KNIL) [Mochtar 1982:43])- much to the irritation of the palace, which was responsible for their housing and upkeep. Today the only soldiers in the palace are either in other jobs, or volunteers for palace ceremonies.

Today the palace has approximately 1,371 abdidalĕm - the distinction between in and out is largely void, as the Kĕpatihan is now a State and not a palace-controlled sphere; but there are still officials outside the palace: such as the keepers of the keys in ceremonial sites such as caves, the south coast, and royal burial grounds. As will be seen later, to be an abdidalĕm implies various affiliations and shared interests, and generates an important network within Yogyakarta.

iii) Palace Dance Resources

The dance practice in the Kasultanan palace is closely tied to the foundation of Yogyakarta in 1755, and in view of this modernity, the notion of a tradition based on a long-established continuity should be viewed as contingent, and subject to different accounts. The conditions and conventions of performance also altered from Sultan to Sultan.

Although palace forms such as Bĕdhaya, Srimpi, and the idea of male fighting dances (Bĕksan) were taken over from the palace in Surakarta, these forms have been restructured so radically, not only in style but also in their technical terminology, that the sameness in their names only belies the difference in their practice. Ideologically Yogyakarta renounces the idea of continuity from Surakarta. Surakarta stands for a decadence only a few generations deep, and the dance as established in the new state of Yogyakarta aspires to a continuity with the old Mataram tradition, before the failure of leadership and other weaknesses which undermined the purity and rigour of the old court centre.

In order to provide a perspective for the palace associations which exist today, it is necessary to refer to the situation under the reign of HBVIII (AD 1921-1939) to make clearer the changes which have occurred under the present incumbent.

In HBVIII's reign, dancers in the palace were drawn from the various ranks (seniority and professional) of court officials. Male performers were often soldiers, particularly from the Nyutra corps (formerly the Sultan's bodyguard), but the most privileged group, closest to the ear of the Sultan (and reputedly the most handsome!) were the male abdidalĕm bĕdhaya who, when still young, would have performed the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang dance on occasions until 1914. Some sources suggest that the practice of having male bĕdhaya started under HBV (Soerjadiningrat n.d.); others, under HBII (Raffles 1978).

Female dancers were not classed as a distinct group, but were recruited to train in Bĕdhaya and Srimpi. This differs from the practice in Surakarta where the bĕdhaya were a hereditary professional group within the palace, and the srimpi were often related to the Susuhunan.[9] The sixty Yogyakartan trainees lived in the female quarters (kĕputren) of the palace, and trained daily. One informant said that she started to train when she was seven years old, recruited as an apprentice (magang). Once fully-fledged, she moved into the female quarters and was given a letter (sĕrat kĕkancingan) confirming her status and her new name. She may be understood to be characteristic, the daughter of a high-ranking palace official who was himself active in music and dance. She is also characteristic in having made a grand marriage to a brother of the present Sultan. At this point, a bĕdhaya-srimpi would cease to appear in performance, though she might continue to train other dancers, if she was considered capable of teaching. It was the male dance teachers, however, who made the selection of dancers for performances; informants estimated that such officials would be paid between 30 DFl. and 150 DFl. (gulden) per month, depending on their official ranking.

This does not fit the commonly held idea of palace dancers being the wives and daughters of the Sultan, although his grand-daughters and nieces often trained as dancers - in fact all of HBVIII's children were trained in dancing as part of their education. In 1938 one of the main dancers in the Bĕdhaya was a wife of the Sultan: more likely an 'unofficial' wife (sĕlir: concubine), than the Queen (pĕrmaisuri) or secondary wife (garwa ampeyan). Although bĕdhaya also had in the past duties to wait on the nobility at ceremonies, and to bear the kingly

regalia (upacara) at Garĕbĕg ceremonies (see below), it is questionable whether they automatically provided a harem for the king or for his close male entourage.

Under HBVIII there was no special Arts Section as there is today: the musicians formed a group termed golongan kanca wiyoga (group of singer friends), reckoned to have about three hundred members; today there are some ninety musicians. Under HBVIII dancers were recruited from throughout the palace (and in some cases, throughout the land), the best being appointed to the Nyutra corps. The sixty bĕdhaya dancers were not ranked as a group as such, though they had contractual letters when they fulfilled their apprenticeship. The palace did have a (male) dance director, who would be skilled in music as well as dance - unlike many dancers, some of whom today still maintain that they have tin ears and no sense of tune. There were about forty dance teachers under HBVIII, the most esteemed (and given the title of ĕmpu) being Prince Brongtodiningrat.

Today KHP Kridha Mardawa, the Arts Section set up under HBIX (Lindsay 1984 offers an earlier date) totals about two hundred staff, although none of the performers and teachers are full-time as such. Given this decrease in numbers, it is necessary to ask what the palace dance resources are today, and who produce and perform them?

By way of answer, it will help if the different dance forms are introduced, with details of the occasions on which they were formerly performed, and what happens today.

Contrary to appearances, Yogyakartan palace forms are strenuous, the ideal being the dissimulation of effort and the creation of an impression of easy control. All but two palace forms included fighting sequences

(pĕrang), and are for groups (see illustrations 1-12). The two exceptions are more recent additions, but are no less 'palace' for that. Palace dancing is an event which involves not only a dancer and dance movement, but also singers (male and female), musicians, conventional costumes and make-up, formalised introductions (kandha), formalised dialogues (antawacana), and occasionally the burning of incense. The The dance event therefore is not simply a visual form, but one with a multi-dimension sensual appeal.

Forms today performed by women are follows.[10] Bĕdhaya, the most complex and esteemed form, typically involves nine dancers. The full composition has an abstract part where the formations are ascribed a philosophical significance, and a story part, in Yogyakarta usually on the theme of conflict, although love is also possible. Stories may be drawn from the Mahābhārata, Javanese chronicles (babad), or, as they most frequently are today, from the Menak cycle, deriving from the Islamic Hikayat Amir Hamzah which came to Java from Malaya: the Kitab Rĕngganis is the most popular section (Poerbatjaraka 1952). However, it will be shown later that the relation of the story to the dance is not as might be expected.

Bĕdhaya is endowed with sacred associations and varied myths of origin, which link it to the mystical marriage of Sultan Agung, third ruler of the Maratam kingdom of Central Java (founded in the late sixteenth century) to the Queen of the South Sea, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul (Poerbatjaraka 1962; Jordaan 1984). In Surakarta it is the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang which is understood to be the first Bĕdhaya; of this dance and the Yogyakartan version, the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, more will be said later.

Srimpi, a simpler form, uses four dancers (except Srimpi Rĕnggawati, which uses five), representing a pair of protagonists who come to blows - in duplicate. The themes are as for Bĕdhaya. Srimpi is associated with less grand occasions than Bĕdhaya, and its more informal use would have made it permissible for the daughters of the Sultan to perform it. It is not usually performed by males. However, one source suggests that a male Srimpi did take place, the dancers in women's clothing, dancing an archery fight, and referred to as kagungan dalĕm ringgit Srimpi (Platen Album No.29: pl.41). Neither was it subject to such restrictions as the Bĕdhaya, although both forms today still tend to be regarded as palace heirlooms (pusaka dalĕm).

After 1928, females were also seen in Wayang Wong (dance drama, see below). and in the 1930s were allowed to perform the Golek (but in both cases outside the palace). This dance was first devised outside the palace, and used to close the Langĕndriya (dance opera, see below) in the same way that a wooden rod puppet (golek) closes the shadow play. As will be discussed, the Golek is considered to be dangerously near the boundaries of what distinguishes palace practice from that of outside, and it is often disparaged as being too much like the performance of professional dancer prostitutes.

Palace forms are not static, however. Since coming to the throne, HBIX has commissioned not only new Bĕdhaya forms,[11] but also a new dance drama, Golek Menak, based on stories and themes from the Menak cycles and the movement of the wooden golek puppets, mentioned above. For reasons which will become clear later, the complete Golek Menak has not become established. An experimental show took place in the palace before the declaration of independence. A fragment was done in the

Kĕpatihan between 1945 and 1949 when it was "still war" for the "Tiga Negara"('Three States') ceremony, according to the form's first choreographer, KRT Wirodiprodjo. But since then, apart from performances of fragments outside the palace (in 1960, 1972, 1974, and 1978 by the 'branch' of the palace arts section, now Siswa Among Bĕksa), the form is normally presented as a female fighting duet. It may be identified by the angular and stiff movements of neck and hands compared to the usual palace style; it is also the only form in which females fight with lances.

Wayang Wong (Ringgit Tiyang k.) is attributed to the first Sultan, and is thus a specifically Yogyakartan form. This dance drama is modelled on the shadow theatre, which is reflected in its characterisation and plots, in Yogyakarta taken mostly from the Mahābhārata, although HBVIII, the most enthusiastic of dance producers, did create hybrid plots combining features from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.

As will become clear, any use of Indian epics in Java results in something more Javanese than Indian. It is evident from photographs from the nineteenth century (Groneman 1899) that the form was initially more processual than dramatic, closer in effect to the ceremonial parades of soldiery in the Garĕbĕg ceremonies which, at the Prophet Mohammad's birthday, were often occasions for Wayang Wong - than what one sees today.[12] The form also may be related to the Garĕbĕg ceremonies, which in their original practice were the times when the palace kin, often brothers to the Sultan, who ruled over the outlying territories (mancanĕgara) until the confiscation of these in the mid-nineteenth century, would be required to come to court and present their accounts and themselves to the Sultan. This ceremony would thus

function as a rite of incorporation. It is analogous, then, to the subject matter of the dance drama, that of land disputes and challenged authorities, and to its conclusion, in which, like the last scene (adĕgan) in the shadow play as the light breaks in the east, everyone is put back in their right place, that is, in their own territories. In the dance drama, this moment used to come at midnight (some say eleven o'clock at night) as the performance under HBVIII would start at dawn (about six o'clock in the morning) and last for eighteen hours, over three or four days (Suryobrongto 1982). HBVIII was responsible not only for developing the movements and costumes, but also for the educative moralist ethos of the dance drama. Up to four hundred dancers, drawn, as noted from the soldiery and other officials, and also from palace kin, would be involved in one production, not only for show, but also as part of their education and training. These potential dancers would be ranked in three levels (Cina, Ĕncik, Gupermen), and only those in the top rank (Gupermen) would perform in these events. In HBVIII's reign birthdays and enthronements would be the occasion for performance, with an extra large production for the Sultan's tumbuk, eighth of the eight-year windu-cycle birthdays - as was the case in 1934, when HBVIII was sixty-four. Today the dance drama is done only in fragments, although the occasions remain the same - with Indonesian independence commemorations being added.

The Wayang Wong above all other forms was the king's prerogative (kagungan dalĕm: belonging to the house) and has been treated as the state ritual (Soedarsono 1984). Outside the palace alternative dramas sprang up now considered 'classical': Langĕndriya ('pleasures of the heart') was created in 1878 by a son of HBII, RT Purwadiningrat, was a

dance opera peformed in squatting positions, which much pleased the Crown Prince Mangkubumi. It was based on stories from the Damar Wulan repertoire, previously used in the wayang klitik theatre (flat wooden puppets with moveable leather arms for the high characters), and developed as an all-female performance in the princely Mangkunĕgaran palace in Surakarta, a good example of cultural influence between the two rival towns. Langĕn Madrawanara springs from the above, but uses stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, hence its title 'many monkeys', and was a creation of the chief minister of Yogyakarta Danurĕja VII circa 1890; and the lesser known Langĕn Wiraga, devised by his predecessor Danurĕja VI, and now in abeyance, used themes from Pañji cycles (Suharto 1982:114).

A generic dance form denoting fights is Bĕksan, traditionally between men but no longer so, as I have already suggested.

Bĕksan Lawung (or Trunajaya) is the grandest of Yogyakarta's Bĕksan, showing lance (lawung) fights between members of the different military ranks, the largest version using thirty-two dancers. Some see in this form the influence of the tournaments (watangan) held in town squares all over the Principality on Mondays, and at the palace on Saturdays. This dance was formerly reserved for royal marriage rites, and performed in the compound of the chief minister, sometimes representing the Sultan, until 1939 (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956).

Bĕksan Etheng, like Lawung, was attributed to HBI (though the first Sultan of Kartasura is also attributed with the creation (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:140), and shows life in the barracks, with a cock-fight and gambling; a narrative and humourous dialogue is provided by a chorus.

A final form for males, analogous to the female Golek in its theme and performance by one dancer, is Klana. Danced unmasked in Yogyakarta according to convention, this dance has been understood to come from an older mask tradition (topeng)[13]

These are the main forms associated with the palace and performed within its precincts to this day. However, it is rare for these to occur as they would formerly in the largest palace pavilion, the Bangsal Kěncana (Golden Pavilion, see illustration 63), with its hipped roof, marble floor, and rows of slender ornamented pillars, leading to the concealed repository of palace heirlooms, consisting of sacred weaponry and other regalia. Patterns of performance changed following the Japanese occupation (1942-45), and it also remains unclear whether much dancing occurred at all during the strife-filled times which followed. A fragment of Wayang Wong was performed after the accession of HBIX (Suryobrongto 1981:47), and one authority suggests that this was before the declaration of independence in 1945 (Soedarsono 1984:33). However, the grand productions of Wayang Wong and conventional training and performance in the palace in general may be said to have come to an end on the demise of HBVIII in 1939.

Some might query the extent to which the palace maintains any purchase on the dance forms which it originally sponsored. There are many who feel gloomy about the present situation, claiming that dance has come down to earth, or in the local idiom, to janaloka, world of men, and has lost the more elevated supra-mundane associations it had under HBVIII, that it has become secularised, reduced to something ordinary. Indeed, some see the decline as having set in when an academy, the Kridha Běksa Wirama, was established outside the palace, some say as a

result of the lethargy of HBVIII following the death of the Crown Prince in 1913, which led to a stultification in palace performance; others that it was a move towards modernity (and nationalism) by some of the princes. The majority of those people termed 'palace dance teachers' today were trained here. Purists of the older generation argue that such an attribution should not be used for anyone except those who taught before 1939 in the palace. Even a 'palace dancer', they claim, should have the qualification of having performed at least once in a full-scale Wayang Wong; to have participated in a fragment, or to have been a golek is not enough.

In 1946, the first State organisation for classical dance, Irama Citra, was established by Kridha Bĕksa Wirama personnel, though the latter continued its own activities. In 1950, the Sultan instructed one of his brothers to set up a branch of the palace Arts Section, some say due to a feeling of dissatisfaction with the efforts of Kridha Bĕksa Wirama to maintain the palace traditions; the branch continues today as Siswa Among Bĕksa. While the establishment of this 'branch', as well as the patronage and sponsorship of numerous gamĕlan ensembles and a school of shadow puppetry, Habiranda, may be seen as an attempt by the palace to express continuity, if in a different way from previously, it should also be said that even its own Arts Section became a recipient of a grant from the local PDK office in 1983.

None the less, the palace continues to provide a venue for training and performance which, in spite of change over the past forty years, is still considered to be the most prestigious arena, an exemplary centre of excellence (kautamaan). Every dancer is flattered to be invited to dance in the palace. Such participants are drawn from all the different

venues where palace dancing is performed and taught in Yogyakarta today (see Table 1), and the palace still has the power to muster personnel for all aspects of production, as was demonstrated at the ambitious 'three generations' production of a Wayang Wong fragment Bhisma Mahawira in 1981 (Wibowo 1981). The fact that this production occurred in the Kĕpatihan and not inside the palace was explained to be due to logistics. The Bangsal Kĕncana in the palace, while being extremely beautiful and atmospheric, has a low roof and is darker and smaller than the pĕndhapa at the Kĕpatihan, which is truly splendid, painted white with touches of red and gold, illuminated by large chandeliers - an altogether more glamorous venue than the Pagĕlaran, the northernmost building in the palace which is now used for some performances today, as we shall see. State receptions now are held at the Pakuàlaman, for reasons of security and organisation, particularly of parking, facilities for which are somewhat restricted in the Kasultanan.

There is still a feeling among dancers that to perform in the palace is different, "awesome" in one lady's words. Abdidalĕm in the KHP Kridha Mardawa spoke of the dancers who perform and train in the palace as being brought there "to ripen". Of all conservatories in Yogyakarta, then, there remains the sense that the palace is the best. Although groups associated with dance may be so by reason of being active in government, such as the local branch of the Ministry of Education and Culture, whose head is the same prince who heads KHP Kridha Mardawa, and not by virtue of being of the palace family, there remains a feeling that palace dancing, even as it becomes labelled 'classical' (klasik B.I.) entails the palace. As one palace grand-daughter put it, "the source of classical dance is the kraton; even if there are

TABLE I : Dominant Dance Organisations in Yogyakarta

Organisation	Founded	Sponsor	Members	Activities
a) Defunct but still referred to:				
1. Kridha Bĕksa Wirama[2] (Director, GPH Soerjadiningrat with GPH Tedjakoesoema)	1918	Palace HBVII gave 150 D.fl.	Jong Java;[1] elites	Modern approach to palace training and forms; also masked drama; ended 1982.
2. Irama Citra (Director, GPH Soerjadiningrat)	1946	State	"A middle-ranking group" (kelompok madya)	Classical productions for official state occasions during the struggle for independence.
b) Current as of 1983:				
3. KHP Kirdha Mardawa (Head, GBPH Pugĕr)	1940	Palace (HBIX) PDK sub 1983	Abdidalĕm and the best dancers and teachers from the other organisations	Classical training; productions are Mauludan (for the Sĕkaten night market); the Sultan's birthday, and commemoration of Yogyakarta's foundation.
4. Bĕbadan Among Bĕksa Kraton (Director, KPA Yudanĕgara)	1950	Palace (HBIX)	As above.	See 5 below.
5. Paguyuban Siswa Among Bĕksa (as of 1978, given the status of a foundation: Yayasan Siswa Among Bĕksa) (Head, RM Dinusatama)	1952	PDK grant private	Some of the above; children from the local kampung; anyone interested.	Classical training in different grades (No.4, BABK has been lost in this structure); productions at its anniversary; Independence Day; special private commissions; continues Langĕndriya and Golek Menak as well as other palace forms. Performances in Jakarta; international tours (1971, 1973).

Organisation	Founded	Sponsor	Members	Activities
b) Current as of 1983 (continued):				
6. SMKI-KONRI (Head, N. Supardjan BA)	1961	State	Secondary-school students (18-20 years) with ability, mostly from Yogyakarta or Central Java	Classical Yogya, and some Surakartan, Balinese, and Sundanese; a little contemporary classical (sendratari); performances for official occasions.
7. ASTI (Acting Director Soedarsono)	1963	State	Tertiary-level students with ability from all over Indonesia.	Classical Yogya, Surakarta, Bali, etc., sendratari, contemporary; up to MA level (Sarjana Seni Tari). Many students perform in hotels, teach in organisations, and set up on their own.
8. Mardawa Budaya (Head, RL Sasminta Mardawa)	1962	Tourist board (1970-71); PDK; private and some palace patronage.	Graduates of PBN	Classical training; performances for tourists, and sendratari; international tour (e.g. 1983).
9. Pamulangan Bĕksa Ngayugyakarta	1976	As above	Anyone interested below the age of 25; there are SMKI-KONRI students, as the head is chief teacher there.	As above; good students are asked to perform.
10. IKIP: Fakultas Sastra dan Seni	1982	State	Students wishing to teach dance in primary and secondary schools	Classical training in Yogya and Surakartan styles; diplomas after one or two years.

c) Others: See Appendix 5.

1. 'Young Java', the first nationalist student body, founded in 1918 (Ricklefs 1981:159).
2. The names of these organisations use O.J. terms which have a wide scope of signification. To simply, kridha (Skt,O.J.) is 'to play, practice, work, make love'; bĕksa 'dance', is discussed in Chapter III; mardawa (Skt,O.J.) is 'flexible, soft, refined, tame, gentle, clam, pleasing, interesting, favourable'; among (OJ) it 'to take care of, to train, to prepare, to protect'; budaya (O.J.) 'civilised' is discussed further in Chapters IV and VII. The organisations' names thus evoke a considerable range of concerns.

none of the Sultan's family involved, there has to be some other relation". For the most part, however, there are still numerous people who have vested interests in maintaining a palace identification. The major threat to such an identification today comes from problems of finance. It has already been said that the palace Arts Section itself has moved from being a patron to receiving the patronage of the State. The response of the palace is to attempt to improve its cash flow by promoting tourism. In 1970 on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday, Maulud, the traditional Garĕbĕg ceremony, lapsed since 1939, was revived (Surjadiningrat 1970:61; Bonneff 1974). In 1973, a dance training session was established in the palace on Sunday mornings as well as a twice-weekly gamĕlan practice. More ambitious ventures in combination with a government tourist agency to have more elaborate events which included meals did not survive, but the Sunday morning practice has. Where once the four hundred or so performers of Wayang Wong with as many helpers slept and prepared themselves during the three-day performances under HBVIII, and where the post-pubescent bachelor princes had their apartments, the Kĕsatriyan today is thronged with tourists from home and abroad who come to witness music and dance in rehearsal every Sunday of the year with the exception of Ramadan, the fasting month, although one notices also somewhat scanty attendance around the time of school and university examinations.

The palace has the capacity to elicit a spirit of participation from people in Yogyakarta. In Garĕbĕg ceremonies ceremonies, volunteers from the various local communities become soldiers for the morning, and march long distances in the name of tradition. A similar motivation lies behind the willingness of individuals to work as palace officials,

for wages unaltered since 1942 (though a revision is in the air), which is rarely more than Rp 5,000 per month for the highest ranks. Dancers today earn Rp 25 for a normal Sunday practice, Rp.200 for the one on Pon Sunday (following the Sultan's 35-day birthday on Lĕgi Saturday), and Rp 500 for a full costumed performance. At the tourist organisation they can earn Rp 1,000 for an evening's performance. Palace dancers have been observed to flip their Rp 25 carelessly over to a child "for sweeties!". In general, the payment is considered a token. Local evaluations do not restrict cost benefit analyses to the material sphere alone, and where the palace is concerned especially, benefits are not always measurable in countables; the honour, however, does count.

Some remarks should be made about the training sessions on Sundays. Starting at 11am and always accompanied by live gamĕlan and (in principle), male and female singers, there is usually a Sari Tunggal (female training dance, Ills.65-7), followed by the Tayungan (Ill.64) for all the different male modes, from tiny tots to senior citizens. Then comes a Srimpi, what people called a 'basic choreography', though this venue is also one in which new choregraphies are tried out on the critics of different factions. After this is usually a Bĕksan for two men, or a Klana, performed either by one man, and latterly, two or four. Next, a female dance, either Golek or Golek Menak, and finally, a Bĕksan for men, often with a conflict between two contrasting modes, such as Impur, or Kalang Kinantang, confronting a monkey or masked ogre using the relevant mode (see Chapter III, Section iii). On one occasion the triumph by a monkey over an unpleasant-looking knight sporting a highly egotistical moustache elicited, to the amusement of the Javanese, spontaneous applause from the tourists who had survived the heat till

about a quarter-past-one in the afternoon. It is noticeable that as a rule Bĕdhaya is not a regular form to be trained at this venue.

Although these occasions are for tourists, they follow strict decorum, and on Pon Sunday, following the Sultan's Javanese birthday, on Legi Friday, this is celebrated by having a rehearsal with make-up and more costume and a somewhat larger number of musicians than normally, and the teachers will not teach by example and physical adjustment as they normally do (see Illustrations 65-7), but will sit and observe. These occasions are of prime importance for obtaining information about ideas and values about dance, and also matters of more general interest, such as the high-class gossip of Yogyakarta, one of the teachers being the grande dame of Yogyakartan scandal, and according to several informants, one of its chief objects. The palace, in these apparently incidental elements, is still fortifying a series of networks for different kinds of exchanges.

Secondly, these events may be extended and used ruthlessly in the event of an imminent palace production, with dancers and musicians being kept hard at work through the heat of the afternoon until as late as 4.00 pm without a break; this is usually when a Wayang Wong fragment and a Bĕdhaya are needed. Extra practices occur at night, often continuing until after midnight. However, this training is nothing compared to the daily sessions under HBVIII, which would often last one-and-a-half years before a Wayang Wong was ready. The culmination today is often a fragment performed in the Pagĕlaran, northernmost 'front' of the north-south complex, given on the occasion of the commemorations of the Sultan's birthday or his enthronement, or for Indonesian independence. This building was also used during 1983 for

PDK-organised events such as the Festival of Regional Performing Arts, put on in a different place in Indonesia each year. The front part of the palace including the Siti Inggil is also used during the night market held for the Sĕkaten entertainments in the month leading up to Maulud for exhibitions and performances. In 1982 and 1983 this was opened by a dance production, consisting in 1982 of Srimpi Rĕnggawati, Bĕksan Etheng, and Bĕksan Golek Menak, the first two being items rarely produced nowadays. In 1983 there was a Srimpi and a male Bĕksan. The ethnographer, having been watching dance for over a year was, by this stage, indulging in the local habit of gossiping without attending to the performance; there may well have been a short Wayang Wong fragment also, but I think not. Events of this kind usually involve invitations issued to family and friends. At Sĕkaten most people just cast a glance towards the dancing as they go to the exhibitions. At other events, tickets are usually on sale to tourists. Similar performances also occur in Siswa Among Bĕksa's compound. The tourist-sponsored organisation, Pamulangan Bĕksa Ngayogyakarta holds performances for tourists three nights a week, producing most of the forms described above (with the exception of Wayang Wong, set-piece Bĕksan such as Bĕksan Etheng, and Bĕdhaya). They also perform the post-independence dance-ballet (sendratari: seni 'arts', dra(ma), tari 'dance' B.I.), the best-known example of which is the Ramayana Ballet, produced in front of a moonlit (and floodlit) Prambanan temple - an event which is dismissed by pundits as "Politics, not art!"

Clearly, one is dealing with the transfer and transformation of both practice and ethos; what was formerly contained by the palace (though in less restricted a fashion as has been suggested) is now an

even more amorphous set of phenomena, converted by a gradual process of osmosis initiated in 1918 into a set of projections and reflections. One is reminded of the promotion of 'national' gamĕlan music initially in 1908, and intensively after independence (Directorate-General of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, R.I.1973: 38-40). While it might seem as if there is no longer an object in front of the mirror, palace dancing is still a reality, vivid in memory when deficient in actuality, yet actual in its correlation with the manifold identifications and aspirations which prevail, both for today and tomorrow.

For this reason then, the hypothesis that there is a palace dance practice, albeit fractured, is useful, providing as it does a kind of hitching post for presuppositions and entailments which run through Javanese discourse, permitting the taking of one particular pulse in contemporary Java, and the raising of certain questions about its present disposition.

Palace dancing thus is not a neat category of activities with a single clear contextual parameter. It is, however, caught up in an important 'in-out' distinction, and other ideas and opinions it elicits will be as important in this study as other aspects in training and performance. Lapses of information about the practice of forms within the life-time of the senior generation of informants (who would have participated actively in HBVIII's productions), and variations of interpretation will be treated, as befits the methodological empiricism of fieldwork, as significant, not embarrassments to be ignored and passed over.

iv) Image and Text in Theory

It is impossible to approach Java without having acquired a tapestry of conventional forms and emblems, traces of other approaches at other times, variable as these traces might be.

Dance has rarely been taken as a focus of a study in Java, certainly not by anthropologists who have tended either to develop the style of Dutch structuralism (for Java see van Ossenbruggen 1918; Pigeaud 1977; for Indonesia, van Wouden 1968; de Josselin de Jong 1977, with implications for Indonesia, Held 1935), or else have selected among other 'cultural' forms, the shadow play, adopting what I shall term an aestheticist stance.

Scholarship among the Dutch with their privileged colonial access to Java in particular may be seen to settle at one pole on a structural approach, seeking oppositions and continuities within models of a linguistic nature, with a strongly societal reference, and the occasional urge to extract from the structures a prototypic Indonesian society (Rassers 1982). At the other end of the scale has been the diachronic approach, incorporating linguistics, history, literature and religion, epitomised at its best in the work of Zoetmulder. In fact, philology in the Netherlands did not take long to follow Muller's incursions into Sanskrit through that Sanskritic 'colony' Java, since which time lexicography, left-hand man of philology, has thrived, incorporating not only Arabic or Islamic influences on the language (Gonda 1952; Johns 1964; Drewes 1969, 1978;) but also concerns with social history, which may be understood to have developed out of initial concerns with religion (Zoetmulder and Stöhr 1968) and the development of language within literature (Robson 1971; Teeuw and Robson 1981).

Textual work (in the narrow sense!) has already been mentioned in connection with babad (chronicles); but there are many otherprojects which merit the ethnographer's attention, and which exert an influence on his or her work whether attention is paid or not, as conventions of knowing and notions of relevance are subtly altered by the appearance of each new publication. The strong philological tradition of the Leiden school of South East Asian studies has done much to introduce some clarity into the density of language-use, generating a sense of event, of practice and actuality which run deeper than the surfaces of the language being pursued, while simultaneously reinforcing the important opaqueness of imaginative constructs and the possibility of levels of conceptualisation. This endorses a suspicion that cultures, like languages, are less willing to sit, measured and reproduced by ethnographers, than one is sometimes led to suppose. Despite the disciplinarian tendency to divorce the concerns of the ethnographer or anthropologist from the researches of those in other fields, even if the field happens to be congruent with the location of one's own fieldwork, it is evident that as such specialist philological works may be read and understood by one who has more than a passing concern with Java, there is a strong case for including considerations of their work and their references in one's own text - in fact, to acknowledge the part played not only by scholarship, but also dissemination by printing to popularise a text, a bound image of a place. This idea will come to have a fresh significance when the part played by Dutch scholarship in modern Indonesian circles is examined at a later point.

This expression may be illustrated by a simple example. An exception to the lack of attention paid to dance, and also to theatre

(apart from studies which will be cited when necessary) is the collation made in 1938 by Pigeaud, an ambitious survey of Javanese folklore of the performing kind. Pigeaud, one notes, wisely avoids problems of formal classification by keeping to a regional structure on which to hang what amounts to a series of notes. Apart from the repetitions which this structure necessitates, one cannot help but be amazed at the general restraint in casting caution to the winds and embarking on speculation à la Rassers (1982). However, the seeds are there. In 1960-63 Pigeaud published his version of the fourteenth-century court chronicle, the Nĕgarakrtagama, written during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, in which he demonstrates how texts may be made to generate secondary texts with strongly legitimated arguments - such as his own about Majapahit festivals and contemporary Garĕbĕg festivals still held in the principalities.

As noted, the problems of history are not automatically solved by the discovery of new material. It is often the case that polemical debates arising from authentic or original sources, are more often read and cited than the latter. The taking of such commentaries literally is often a tendency among Indonesian intellectuals, and there also remains the unfortunate fact that it often takes an overseas publication of a Javanese or Indonesian text to promote interest among Indonesians. It is also unfortunate that while efforts are being made to rectify this by the Ministry of Education and Culture, who are publishing Latinised versions of original texts, that these are not 'for sale' and inaccessible to most students, both in Indonesia and overseas.

One might note certain literary forms which will be referred to in the course of this study. Old Javanese stories, eulogies, epics such

as the Mahābhārta and Rāmāyaṇa, form a body of literature known as kĕkawin, and epitomise Indic assimilation in Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1974). This term is still used for sections of sung accompaniments in dance performance; a later literary development in what is sometimes called Middle Javanese yields lighter but equally courtly texts, most famously the Pañji stories, in a form called kidung (Robson 1971).[14] These texts normally include references to performance such as dance and shadow plays, and there are works which made extensive use of existing translations and editions of these kinds of literature, mostly by Indonesians (Soerjadiningrat n.d.; Surjadiningrat 1970; Darusuprapto 1982; Soedarsono 1984).

Those familiar with the Indian Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa might note there are radical differences in the Javanese versions, and even in the conventions in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, for instance in the treatment of Durna, mentor to both Pandhawas and Korawas, in the Indic tradition is a good guru, but who in Yogyakarta is untrustworthy and unpleasant. The small incidents in the epic become complex plots which have been argued to be Javanese, not Indic (Becker 1979).[15]

Recent uses of textual analysis have yielded valuable insights into the nature of historicism in Javanese traditions (see Soedjatmoko 1965 for an introduction), notably in the work of Ricklefs on chronicles from the Kartasura period (before the Central Javanese house moved to Surakarta in February AD 1745) and the reign of the first Sultan of Yogyakarta (1978 and 1974 respectively). His illustrations show how events and chronologies have been manipulated so as to form orders of repetition which endow random and arbitrary events and thereby legitimise then. A similar strategy is found in Balinese courtly chronicles

(Worsely 1972), and suggests one way to resolve the question posed usefully by Geertz (in Holt 1972) as to why people have the politics they think they have. At the same time, this kind of work presents the Javanese and their fabled elusive allusiveness in a more pragmatic and purposive light than the habitual mystical tag is apt to credit them with, and raises questions about causality and interpretation instead of assuming such things to be taken literally - not only in the case of historical versions of explanation, but also in other fields of discourse not held down in writing. Oral strategies which follow patterns of this kind will be discussed in detail when the time comes.

This wealth of scholarship has touched, tantalisingly, on performance in various perspectives, but in general the human theatre has been sadly neglected, almost totally by anthropologists working in the field. In the 1930s, a work inspired by the Sanskritic researches of Sylvain Lévy appeared, but was concerned to show Indic elements in palace dance, and although the work has the virtue of distinguishing between the forms of the Kasultanan palace in Yogyakarta and the Mangkunĕgaran in Surakarta, one is left with a confusing and ill-resolved project and a host of misconceptions (van Lelyveld 1931). The work, however, is slightly less tainted by purple prose than a forerunner (van Helsdingen Schoevers, n.d.) cut short by the sudden death of the author (rumoured to be by palace-administered poison), again looking at the Mangkunĕgaran dances, and worth attention for its attempts to describe what movements occur in the forms in question (Bĕdhaya and Srimpi) and also for the illustrations by de Kleen. Later work by the culturalist and historian, Claire Holt, provide brief insights which remain to be developed (1936, 1937, 1939, 1967; see also numerous short articles by various contributors in the periodical Djawa).

The form which has come to represent the Javanese par excellence in the work of both anthropologists and others is that of the shadow play, above and beyond the other puppet play forms (see Appendix 1). It is probably because of the elaborate use of language codes, another feature in Java which attracts by its 'otherness' the Western thinker in search of objects, and the shadow play, in Java as in Bali, does seem to stimulate an unquenchable flow of approaches. Recent analyses of note include Becker's essay on the dramatic structure to suggest certain modes of perception (1979: though his pupil Zurbuchen arrives at similar conclusions through a brief analysis of Old Javanese grammatical structures, 1976). From Leiden, Hinzler has provided an elegant and precise account of the Balinese shadow play and the matter of its text as performed, a welcome step forward (Hinzler 1981). Clara van Groenendael's culturalist study of central Javanese shadow play traditions (1982) remains to be published in English.

The focus of the shadow play has had a devastating effect on the image of Java, and has become the privileged and and evocative metaphor for the Javanese world view. Like Shakespeare's Globe, the shadow theatre is often spoken of as a world, a metaphor out of which the Javanese themselves continue to make much mileage. It is one thing, however, for lovers of Shakespeare (including Lévi-Strauss) to see in Hamlet's dilemma the root of the human condition, and quite another to maintain that every English person inhabits the world in a fashion analogous to Hamlet. This shift of weight is, however, what tends to occur with analyses of the Javanese, whose treatment at the hands of Westerners has prompted one such researcher to protest (Bonneff 1976). Commentators have tended to see Javanese society as

puppet theatre, illegitimately perhaps extending the metaphor in its application to the 'puppet states' - a common way of expressing the relation of the principalities to the Dutch by the mid-nineteenth century.

The formal uses of language, the prevalence of mystical interests, the strangely insubstantial sense of responsibility, the lack of a work ethic, the lack of integrity, the lack of the concept (or practice) of friendship - such images pepper the works of the foreigner (e.g., Geertz 1960, and, at times, Geertz 1961, whose work otherwise shows more caution than most). Most extreme perhaps is the view that the Javanese are insubstantial symbolists, lacking a sense of instrumentality because, it has been claimed, in early childhood they are prevented from touching and handling objects (Mulder 1978). Unfortunately for this view, the first life ritual in Java involving the active participation of the baby occurs at seven months when it is put on the ground and observed in its treatment of numerous objects - the one it selects is believed to be the one with which it will earn its livelihood, or for which it will display a talent.

The Javanese then are condemned to live in puppet states, by ethnographers in much the same way as historians committed their rulers to similar fates.

Scholars who arrive at Java today, by contrast to the philologist who seeks answers to specific disciplinarian problems, which may or may not be answered (Zoetmulder 1974 sets a fine example of refusing to rush to conclusions) have persisted in seeing and reifying what in Java and for the Javanese are rarely treated in so cavalier a fashion and with such simple concepts of reality. The Javanese no doubt find

it easy to play on such expectations as have become familiar, and by so doing have generated their ideals as myth, and taken safe refuge behind these intricately woven fictions.[16]

A Javanese who practises Islam, but would not identify himself as a santri extremist, might criticise certain Javanese cultural heroes on the grounds that they are the constructions of man. For example, the character Arjuna, from the Mahābhārata, is not real, but made up; only Allah is real. Anthropologists might not distinguish between Arjuna and Allah in this instance, but none the less blithely identify Javanese with (would-be) Arjunas. Even if the discussion in which such a notion might come up is about ideas and aspirations, images and deductions shift over into other spheres, and over-literal readings or hearings result in the oddly aestheticised and nebulous zone of the 'mystical other' which is too often the face of the current Javanese ethnographic image (e.g. Geertz 1960).

Given the evidence for a tendency to historicism in Javanese approaches to the past, it is perhaps appropriate that scholars have taken up images which philological texts have established as conventionally accessible in other methodological fields. But is it not strange that it is the shadow theatre which has emerged as the exemplar for what might be called a Javanese text (in the broadest sense), particularly from the school of thought in the USA, self-avowedly interpretative, but predominantly in an aestheticist vein? (See below.) It takes little imagination, of course, to understand that such a text is more operable than a Marxist text might be. As suggested above, it no doubt suits the Javanese to have the foreigners glued to the shadows on the screen and the weapons as heirlooms and power as mystical (Anderson 1972), instead of seeing less soothing strategies and performances.

What is termed aesthetic in Western language might be suitable for something which is understood differently in Java. The aesthetic is not necessarily understood as a binary opposition of the 'art and life' variety which is commonplace in our reflexes to order. What it might be, or if indeed it is this, is a question which needs to be asked. It might also be pertinent to ask of texts both as revised (through re-edition and translation) and as secondary (the meta-commentary upon the revision) how these might have a presence in a form other than the written and printed forms: what of the readers? And more precisely, perhaps, what of the producers? The author of the O.J. Rāmāyaṇa may be forgotten or unknown to most Javanese - but each and every Javanese over a certain age (say fifty years) has recreated the Rāmāyaṇa, the chronicles, the legends, in the telling to his children, in relaxation with his friends (I say 'he' on purpose: these tend to be male discourses), and as such there is something both pre-emptive and also beside the point in seeing the Javanese as alienated from this creative participation in this kind of text or discourse (both terms have aptitude here), and cast instead as over-conscious of etiquette, as much impoverished in their being as they are materially.

The references which have been discussed in this introduction - kings, palaces, dramas, heroes and traditions - have too often provided the face of Java in a kind of stilled and powdered impassive perfection. Whatever the extent to which this is the Javanese ideal (questionable), it stands in an exceedingly unclear relation to what has been hypostatised by academic practice as the book of tradition. The book may not be closed, perhaps, but there is a sense in which resolution will come with more of the same: even Zoetmulder's admirable pragmatism concerning the

present lack of knowledge in the field of Old Javanese literature does not exclude the hope that the project may be resolved in the terms in which it now proceeds. As the book to this extent is closed - it is merely a matter of more information, more dead text and the philologists' know-how - so anthropologists turn to equally constraining metaphors: culture has become a web in which man is caught, suspended in his own symbol structures (Geertz 1973: Ch.1). The Javanese are thus at the mercy of their cultural forms, their murky history, their material deficiencies (by American standards - and their lack of a bill of rights), thus the conclusion, the moral drawn, from academic discourse on Java.

The image has thus been constructed and characterised as being trapped in a solipsistic (and thus, to the observers, ineffectual) code of rasa, normally glossed as 'feeling', but coming closer to 'sense'. The aesthetic moralist may indeed be one role the Javanese (sic) may be good at and enjoy playing. Those skilled in this style tend to congregate around power centres, become better at the game, and gain more opportunity to develop it for their own advantage. Being at the centre they are conspicuous, controlling, as they do, productions and performances easily seen by foreigners. They are not so very different from the shadowy (sometimes) but glamorous producers of our own media. An English person - if such generalisations are of use anyway - may be less struck too, by the polish of manners, not so different from certain styles found at home, but less commonly encountered in the United States. The ethnographic 'Other' becomes relativist in these terms.

These 'smooth' people, however, as do people anywhere, put on different hats depending on the circumstances. The field of references

sketched out above need not be a deterministic web which monopolises options. Indeed, it will be shown that even this narrow field contains far more choices even for its definition than might seem the case at first sight. There is strong evidence, in fact, for suggesting the opposite of the contention: Sanskritisation, Islamicisation, Dutch influence, and today Westernisation, all different, but all similar in offering different kinds of prestige (social, spiritual, professional, material), provide grist to the mills of strategy.

One could argue that these strategians under such circumstances are not waving but drowning in the waves of socio-economic oppression which remain unaffected by languaged ideas, inspiring as they do styles of behaviour for which the language has not yet found the words. This, of course, is a matter of opinion, and at the risk of appearing cool, it might be suggested that the predicament is not a uniquely Javanese, or Indonesian, or even Third World one, and that not only are 'we in the West' not immune from such circumstances, but are in fact the most chronically affected by them. For us, there is a Third World defined by its poverty and disease, which is indisputable. For them (in Java) there is the West, defined by its spiritual and psychological impoverishment and lack of stability. There is an Occidentalism as well as an Orientalism (see Said 1978) and the ethhographer might do well to be as aware as possible of both tendencies. For now, it may be more fair not to attibute the ills which afflict us (although many of them would argue that these are imminent), while others are already crippled by the effect of an ethnographically-created symbolising function, an impasse imported into the local self-image by Western ethnography and other modes of theorising. If such influences may be

deflected by strategy, all may be well and good; but if not, the first steps of a truly erosive colonisation may have been made.

An important question implied in this study therefore is the relation of the 'emic' to the 'etic', of the theoretical field to that of the data. There are limitations in social anthropology for the application of such a formulation (from the field of linguistics), because of the difficulties which arise in attempting to specify limiting conditions of the relation between the anthropologist and the ethnographic 'Other'. Furthermore, there is also the action and reaction of the 'Other' on and to the anthropologist, as pointed out above, so that the 'Other' is not a stable object for the anthropologist. When the object of a study has been in contact with anthropologists (increasingly the case today), the 'emic' becomes a category which is the 'Other' with a self-consciousness of the anthropologist and the concomitant Western identifications - and the 'emic-etic' contrast becomes confused.

If one is hoping to expose some of the conventional truisms and images of Java, why try to do so by means of dance, itself surely caught up in a deeply subjective aestheticising now under attack? The answer should be clear: had a long hard look been taken at dance and its conditions and problems of definition been investigated previously, instead of a soft evasion, a sparing of the speechless dancer as dumb animal, then perhaps some of the grounds for illusion might have been cleared for a denial of what grew to become big illusions. It is not useful to assume that what the Javanese do when they dance - in this case the Yogyakartans - is what they have been thought to do when they use language codes deferentially, or styles of

deportment which so shocked British observers in the nineteenth century (Crawfurd 1820) and evidently continue to shock to this day. Theory and methodology apart, it is ultimately things which shock which also stick and motivate (long after other field memories have been lost in one's notes); if not the shockable, then the odd, the alien and the different.

Having been attracted to dance before becoming an anthropologist (for all the wrong reasons as I appreciated on my return to Java to conduct fieldwork), it has served as a point of entry to a place ('Yogya') and its people, a passage which may at times overlap with an analysis entering through language, and at other times will not. Problems which arose in assimilating dance to language and also to theory (see Chapters II and IV) provided means to explore as far as possible in practical terms, what the Javanese think they are doing, and what they think is going on in dance, both with reference to dance, and to other spheres which evidently were understood to be entailed in dance. Thus a set of associations was provided, yielding a set of perspectives and possibilities on how people make or generate texts, discourses, and explanations. Approaching the culture from dance also made possible the questioning of its categorical presence, yielding a kind of deferral of definition, and thus presence, as suggested in the work of Foucault, Derrida and others (see Chapter VI).

All this is carried in what the Javanese call cara jawa, which may be glossed provisionally as 'the Javanese way', though what is at stake will not emerge as a single integrated structure; cara jawa is perhaps closer to 'the Javanese episteme'.[17]

The thesis, in short, will show the gradual breakdown of the initial hypothesis that dance simply happens and is important to the Javanese as representing some kind of direct expression of being - the view held at the very start of research.

The structure of the study is as follows. A consideration of theoretical problems in writing about dance (Chapter II) will be illustrated by a discussion of the ways in which Yogyakartan palace dance forms are understood to have structures and meanings (Chapter III); the theoretical implications of this analysis will then be discussed by addressing the question of representations (Chapter IV). Problems about categories and boundaries will then be elaborated using broader ethnographic material, in order to elucidate the place of dance in cara jawa and what is involved in establishing this relation. The first reference will be to the dance's place in the Sultan's palace and considers strategies of classification (Chapter V). The second will be to Javanese model-making in general, and how a Javanese discourse might be understood (Chapter VI). This will lead to considerations of cultural presuppositions, firstly of ideas about the dancing person, the educative model of dance, and the metaphysical ones. Here questions about perception and knowledge, particularly with respect to the two-fold division of outer and inner perspectives for this (lair-batin) will be raised (Chapter VII). Secondly, as a final chapter will explore, the way in which strategic interpretation by social groups with reference to what constitutes authentic palace dancing is used to establish control of it, both within the idea of cara jawa, and also outside of this.

The final chapter presents conclusions to the research, and is followed by photographic illustrations of dance forms, movements, and relevant places and events in the field. The chapters are in no way discrete categories, as the ethnographic manifestations were and are a simultaneous interplay of events and explications, using whatever was to hand. Informants and ethnographer alike made use of bricolage, and the structure of the thesis, itself a form of classification, is just one way of assembling one version of polyvalent ways of both being, and of learning.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. During fieldwork there was discussion about expanding the Kotamadya to include much of the northern region, Sleman, which would bring the urban sector to about 100 square kilometres. As Sleman houses the most prestigious local university and the largest new developments in Yogyakarta (housing and roads), the plan presumably anticipates a rationalisation of both administration and statistical analysis, an important feature of local government. The north of Yogyakarta is associated with change and progress, the south with stability and tradition.

2. Its full name, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat is understood to derive from the city of Ayodhya in The Rāmāyaṇa epic.

3. Administration in Yogyakarta has a three-tiered structure depending on the regional levels. The first deals with administration at the level of province and capital city; the second at the level of regency and provincial capitals (for example, Yogyakarta); and the third at the level of Regency administration (Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Yogyakarta 1980). Another source interposes a level for administrative towns below the third one. (Monografi DIY 1979:349.)

4. Neither of the English words 'court' or 'palace' carry the evocations or implications of kraton, nor do they coincide with that institution. Originally a simple fortification enclosing little more than a barracks, it was gradually given the form and ornamentation one can see today. Javanese dwellings are not usually unified structures, and the kraton is made up of a series of compounds and buildings. Although some buildings and sections are more special than others, the kraton is not an hermetically-sealed zone, as will be shown in Chapter V, and at one point is crossed by a public way. It did function as a legal court, but with gradual assignation of such powers to the religious functionaries, the Dutch (see Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:49-53). The special court for the aristocracy was terminated by the present Sultan (Mochtar 1982:64).

5. His full title is 'Sampeyan Dalĕm Ingkang Sinuwun Kangjĕng Sultan Hamĕngku Buwana, Senapati Ingalaga, Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, Kalifatullah Ingkang Jumĕnĕng Kapisan IX'. Hamĕngku Buwana means 'He who cares for the world', and the other titles 'Commander-in-Chief, Servant of the Lord, whose duty is to maintain the religion as a representative of God, ninth in line' (Brongtodiningrat 1975:5). The Islamic attributes including the right to be called 'Sultan' derive from the reign of Sultan Agung, and were solicited by him in AD 1641 (Ricklefs 1974:15-16; for the relation to other princely titles in Central Java, see 1974:77-8).

6. Much of the Kasunanan was destroyed by fire on 31 January 1985 (see Behrend 1985).

7. Indeed, people in Yogyakarta are confused about the question of the succession as a whole. The Sultan is reported to have said that whether or not his oldest son, Prince Mangkubumi, is designated Crown Prince, and thus heir apparent, will depend on 'evaluation' (Mochtar 1982:123). Some consider that the establishment of the Special Region following the declaration of independence precludes the continuation of a royal line. One local observed that it would probably be continued "because the tourists like it if Yogya has a king"!

8. These titles today indicate formal ranks, though the names of the ranks are the same as those used in the administrative systems in force before 1945. For example, bĕkĕl used to designate tax collectors (see van Mook 1959).

9. The situation regarding bĕdhaya and srimpi in Yogyakarta varied according to informants, given different historical periods: it was suggested that before HBVII there were two distinct groups of dancers, the bĕdhaya being the daughters of court officials who lived in the female quarters and who were often concubines. Others said that later, during the reign of HBVIII, it was common for the wives and daughters of the Sultan to join in training and performance of both dance forms, with practices in each being held on alternate days.

10. For an introduction to Indonesian dance and theatrical forms, see Soedarsono 1974 and 1974a.

11. Mss for HBIX's reign in the Kridha Mardawa archive, Nos.BS 25-39 include the following creations and versions: BS 25 and BS 38: Srimpi Rĕngganis; BS 27 (1970): Sapta Bĕdhaya with Gĕndhing Ngambararum; Pasindhen Bĕdhaya Wiwaha Sangaskara; BS 28: Bĕdhaya Ranumĕnggal; Srimpi Sri Raras; BS 39: Bĕdhaya Tĕmanten.

12. See also Chapter III. The development of palace dancing may be illustrated by a musical parallel. Very old pieces, such as Monggang and Kodhok Ngorek show no progression, and Kĕbogiro shows only a little when compared to classical melodic forms today (see Hood 1954; Becker and Feinstain 1984). Dance as walking is like the non-progressive repetitions; the more elaborated movements seen in classical dance today are like the elaborated cycles of musical progression. Hood (1980) makes a point about appropriateness by presenting his history of gamĕlan in Java as a fiction, in an overtly speculative narrative. Such is the stuff of history in Java - where 'facts' are lost for ever, imagination fills the spaces. For my own part I lack the courage and experience to attempt a Hood-style project for dance.

13. This is different from the Kasunanan in Surakarta, where masked plays and dances (topeng) were an important part of the repertoire (Pigeaud 1938:Chapter 1).

14. For further information about these literary forms and others, see Pigeaud 1967.

15. Javanists who consider themselves au fait with epic sources might find it eludicating to see how Malayan puppeteers present an incest theme in the Rāmāyaṇa (see Sheppard 1983).

16. See the contemporary theorist Baudrillard's observation on this problem: "Unless you admit that natives are perfect naturals, incapable of simulation, the problem is the same as here: the impossibility of obtaining for a directed question any answer other than simulated (other than reproducing the question).... As to the response of the polled or the poll-takers, the natives to the ethnologist, the analyzed to the analyst, you can be sure that the circularity is total: the ones questioned always pretend to be as the question imagines and solicits them to be. Even psychoanalytic transference and counter-transference fall today under the sway of this simulated, simulated-anticipated response, which is none other than the very mould of the self-fulfilling prophecy" (1983:29-30).

17. The term 'episteme' is borrowed from Foucault. A discussion which suggests some theoretical tendencies in such a framing may be found in his Introduction, 1972.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS OF DANCE IN THEORY

> No art suffers more misunderstanding, sentimental judgment, and mystical interpretation than the art of dancing (Langer 1959:169).
>
> Everything moves but the abstraction of movement (Marx, in Burke 1969:322).

In anthropology the position of dance has always been ambivalent and it is only in the pst twenty-five years that attempts have been made to alter it - though whether successfully or even necessarily remains to be seen.[1] Before proceeding to the ethnographic material, however, it is necessary here to discuss theoretical approaches to dance by anthropologists, in order to clarify the approach taken in this study.

It should be noted that dance often comes into ethnography and is subsumed theoretically under other categories: ritual, symbol, perspective, form, metaphor, microcosm, work, language, moral force, topic, movement, witchcraft, gesture, carnival, game, market, military parade - a few of the classes of synonyms to which dance has been assimilated (Lange 1975; Spencer 1985).

In the field, sometimes called 'choreology', two problems of anthropological relevance are often asked: first, what is dance?, as a category to be discussed; second, in what terms is it to be understood? These two problems are inseparable, and the ways in which they are resolved tend to fall between two extremes, where dance is understood as a "closed" or "open" system (Hanna 1979). Dance,

or 'The dance', is either autonomous, intrinsically meaningful, retrievable as a category with clear theoretical boundaries, describable in its own terms (or in terms of a language devised for dance, which includes notations); or dance is porous, yet separable, and reflects culture. Thus it can only be understood as part of a larger system.

Anthropologists in Britain usually tend to the second view, a contextual theory of meaning. Instead of seeing dance as "patterned movement performed as an end in itself" (Royce 1977:8), they consider it necessary to go beyond form, to see how it is "shaped by cultural standards and values" (1977:216).[2] It is proposed here to offer a very brief sketch of some approaches chronologically rather than thematically, although it will be noticed that the approaches run in a 'society', 'body', 'language' series.[3]

The function of dance in forming society by contributing to "effervescence" and ensuring collective representations was discussed by Durkheim (1926:214-30, 370-88). This stimulated a dispute in British social anthropology as to how dance functioned in existing social structures, the argument that it generated harmony and equilibrium (Radcliffe-Brown 1922:Ch.V) being challenged by the view that it was equally likely to generate dissent and bring out latent conflict (Evans-Pritchard 1928:459-60). In this early dispute, there are already indications that what dance 'means' will depend more on theoretical predilection than on actuality. Most explanatory models have since oscillated (or vacillated?) between conflict and consensus. Sociologists drawn to psychology have seen the dance as a medium of socialisation, gathering up contradictions arising from the difference

between self and other, allowing both social constraint and the refusal to comply to normatively constituted frames to be expressed, which at another level, managed to reincorporate resistance to normative standards of acceptable behaviour (Mead 1966; Bateson and Holt 1972), two birds here being killed with one stone.

Alternatively, dance has been a 'vehicle' to arrive at a definition of particular groups, though this kind of study shows varying kinds of social and political emphasis. Mitchell (1956) stresses the former, Cohen the latter. He argues that the concern of social anthropology is the study of two variables, power relations and symbolic action (1969:222), which are conceived as irreducible the one to the other (1974:34-5; 1979:99). Dance is one of many "symbolic performances...loaded with meanings and functions that develop and maintain the interests of the group" (1979:93). It is thus one among many activities which bring people together as groups to compete for the actual or symbolic resources of power.

Such action, its symbolic power being enhanced by "colour, music, dancing and the human body but not fully accounted for by them" (1977:121), also defines the form and structure of belief (1979:98), rather than the reverse, and as such may be understood as enabling with respect to power. While more will be said on this subject, one might note here how Cohen's account allows any "symbol" to be articulated politically. It also stops short of the question of why does dance, for instance, and not simply a flag, take on the significance it does in Yogyakarta?

The 'symbolic interactionists' and 'hermeneuts' have extended dance's assimilative capacity to functional paradigms based on 'meaning'

rather than 'social structure'. For some, dramaturgical forms in general have provided metaphors which are both descriptive and analytical of social process as a whole (Burke 1945:xv-xxiii; Duncan 1968:16ff.). Others, like Turner, have used the idea of 'social dramas' - "units of aharmonic or disharmonic process" (1974:37) - to explain process involving conflict situations, an idea also found in Cohen's work.

This trend has more recently turned to discussions of event and expression in terms of performance and paradigm (Ardener 1978:103-22), and the tides of fashion have variously washed up the original sources of the impulse on the shores of 'model', 'paradigm', and today, 'text'. The metaphorisation of dance and other dramatic references at an analytical level in such approaches has confirmed that 'dance' becomes a means to explain everything but itself, caught up in chains of equivalence: self-society, conflict-consensus; communitas-structure; front stage, back stage, etc.,at the best a modality neutralised, at the worse voided of any significance. The undesirable meshing of gears in this type of interpretative analysis has been rightly criticised by Boon (1977:33-4); one might also note in all these approaches the lack of space given to the indigenous local ideas, which in turn allows the ethnography to be milled by theoretical reductionism: it is not only dance which is at risk here, of course: this point will be taken up again below.

Arising no doubt from the theoretical erosion of form, the anthropology of the body attempted to redress the situation by giving place to the materiality and irreducibility of the body in social, as well as physical, anthropology. The project was flawed by its

universalist assumptions about the nature of the body as "a shared repertoire of somatic and potential states of consciousness" which can mirror social process (Blacking 1977:10). Denying a mind-body separation in favour of unity in diversity arising from the physiological structure of the brain, introductory remarks to a project aimed at redeeming the subject from the snares and outrages of reductionism are concluded with the remark that "from the dance of language and thought we are moved into thinking. Body and mind are one" (1977:22-3).[4]

If not a redress, then something is needed. MacCrae observes that,

> Perhaps one reason the social sciences have been so bad at analysing culture is because of the role of body metaphors (1975:73).

If indeed, "to move is to measure" (1975:64), it would seem that the initial grounds for any project or approach to dance (the bodily aspect in question here) would be to clarify how dance is understood to measure in the society of which it forms a part, rather than being assumed to measure in a Western system. For example, speaking of India, it has been observed that "the body [is]...an essential prerequisite for transcending the body" (Vatsyayan 1980:8).[5] The dance - and the body - inevitably are constituted partly by ideas which are expressed in language. However, it is not necessary for this to create circles which are solely vicious. A ground for articulating both the matter and the sense should be possible, although what sort of theory this might entail remains obscure as yet. Blacking himself cites Stravinsky on music which can "establish an order in things" (1976:26), but suspects that it is less in the groves of academe than in the field of political activism that the

anthropology of the body and its orders are going to be realised (1977:24-5). From the analytical point of view, this could be achieved by permitting variety and contradiction regarding dance and what it refers to, or is referred to be, to stand, instead of arranging such contradictions (the very stuff of ethnography, after all) into hierarchies of sense, with theoretical predilection having the last voice in what emerges on top. The dance cannot speak for itself, granted. But those who create it, either directly in production, or indirectly by perceiving it, both do and should.

One attempt to stabilise dance theoretically has been to treat it literally as a language; this has entailed the modern version of dance as 'mystical', which is dance as meaningful. It has either been treated as communication (Hanna 1979), or as a linguistic structure or grammar, or at any rate susceptible to linguistic theories (Woodard 1976, discussed in Ch.III; Williams 1978).

Hanna's "dynamic communication model" of dance draws on a particular case but generalises three analytical domains in which dance may be understood as 'meaningful': pragmatics (the relation of signs to interpreters); semantics (the relation of signs to contexts, and so to signification); and syntactics (how signs may be characterised, ordered, and inter-related). These three domains overlap in practice, but the extent to which they apply to all arenas of dance all the time, as well as the aspects it shares with other areas of social interaction remains uncertain. Disruption and inversion are not discussed, and the model fails to account for or allow a play of difference and transformation between references which belong to its form (and its performance), and those which exceed

these limits. It is also unclear, finally, about 'meaning'.[6] The work is useful for marking what to avoid and where to go next, but it *does not provide* tools as such. Alternative uses of references (rather than signs) will be taken up in Chapter IV.

Another approach assigns meaning to units of movement which are defined according to a grammatical model, in this case a Chomskyian one (Williams 1978). Dance is thus understood to generate its own meanings from the units it establishes and combines, and is thereby placed at the "closed" system end of the scale.

The first problem with this sort of approach is that dance is taken in the abstract and comes close to 'movement' (see Best 1978 on this difficulty). Indeed, subsequent work reveals this to be Williams' true interest.[7]

The second problem is the degree to which the unsayable can be identified with an articulable structure of meaning, here ascribed to "deep structures" in the dance. The third problem concerns applicability, in spite of taking on a form such as the Indian Katak, and in general it can be said that Williams fails to distinguish varying levels of reference in the dance, from the abstract to the mimetic,[8] the complexity of which is discussed for the Yogyakartan case in the next chapter.

While dance has recently been treated as a unitary substantial object, susceptible to mensuration and reduplication in notation, anthropologists continue to lean to the "open" contextual view: Royce is typical when she questions the forcing of dance into taxonomies geared for the analysis of language (1977:201). More specifically, Gell has attacked Williams' "conceptual closure,

homogeneity, and universality of approach" (1979:4). He criticises the excessive formalism in the approach, which identifies structures which are "empirically untrue", and reckons that as she relates surfaces to surfaces, she has no right to start talking about "deep structures" which lie deep in the mind and are innate (1979:4, 14 respectively).

Gell himself advocates an approach which is illuminated by "psychobiological factors" (1979:5): once again, abstraction elicits the plenitude of the body, although in fact it turns out that he wishes to see a semantic dimension where Williams stressed the syntactical (1979:25). Gell's own work, despite his plea for semantic meaningfulness, has rested heavily upon structuralism of the Lévi-Straussian variety (1975). While his theory suggests that not movements, but

> certain strategic intentions which are converted into movements via an interlanguage which we might call Terpsichore...[drawing on] motor skills...gestural language, intentional movement, facial expression and so forth (1979:26-7).

be the basis of an approach, it is not the case in his recent paper (in press), in which the progressional angles of bends in knees in the Cassowary dance are processed, not by Terpsichore but by quite complicated mathematical calculations, to yield a figure which is understood as analogous to a model (sic) of social structure already discussed in the ethnography (1975).

One could still wonder what deep structure in the dance might be, or if it even should be. The Yogyakartan case suggests that a more useful metaphor is the intersection of surfaces, subject in themselves to variation and hiatus, which in turn generate references which may or may not be activated in discourse about 'dance' and the reasons and

conditions of its practice. In so far as dance in Yogyakarta intersects with other spheres of interest, patterns of identification and grounds or understanding emerge[9] - though whether or not this is "deep structure" or not is not my concern here. It will be perhaps less 'depth' that is important than grounds for repeatability.

The question of what dance is, and the bearing this has on its conceptual status is obviously no simple matter. A moment in fieldwork revealed the problem on the spot.

Having been invited to help train the staff of the Philosophy Faculty at the local university in English listening comprehension, it seemed a good opportunity to broaden the scope of informants, so I selected a text in English on dance in Yogyakarta by a local expert. Lack of consensus in discussion rapidly came to a head (an unusual thing in Java), when the question of definition, unsolicited by the ethnographer, was raised by one member, who suggested that if someone was practising dance alone in the dead of night, as part of his training, it did not count as dance because there was no music. This met with some approval although my objection about humming or counting or singing the drum accompaniment quelled his argument. This was followed by the suggestion that there had to be an audience for it to be dance; but again, having conceded that a dog, an ant even, might be an audience, the objection was defused. At this point a senior member reminded his colleagues that in some Eastern traditions the gods are never far away, and could fulfil the conditions for the requirement of an audience, being omnipresent; this was not received unanimously. The episode elicited quite strong responses in thinkers from another sphere, as will be reported in Chapter VII. What should be noted here

is the monotheistic nature of the definitions ('dance is')requires and the lack of any consensual criteria by which the term was understood, once offered as something to think about (see Needham 1975).

The problem may be understood to lie in definition rather than dance per se. Indeed, defining dance could be compared to peeling an onion: if you go too far, there is nothing left, the approach has been wrong. Even a minimalist definition, such as "patterned, rhythmic movement in space and time" (Copeland and Cohen 1983:1) is fraught with theoretical snags, as elucidated by Best (1978). Indeed, one might wonder why any of the above models should be considered specifically as 'to do' with dance: for instance, Hanna is as much concerned with communication, Williams with movement, and so forth.[10]

A useful corrective to the problems emerging above may be found in the work of choreologist-cum-anthropologist, Adrienne Kaeppler, who is more wary than most about the fragility of the concept 'dance', which she also realises travels badly. Observing that it is often taken to be a "reflection of culture", she points out that this implies that dance is somehow separable from the culture it would reflect (1978:45). This separability, and thus by implication, the universality of the concept, is challenged on two grounds. First, the dance may not be aesthetically accessible to everyone, as the shared foundations in learning about it are lacking (Kaeppler 1971; Best 1978). What is involved here are presuppositions. Second, cultural classifications do not necessarily separate what outsiders might expect to be all dance, categorically.[11] Something might appear to fit a definition, but may be conceived locally as not-like another practice which also fits the definition.

Citing three 'danced' forms from Japan: Mikagura (performed at Shinto shrines by the priestesses; Buyo (a particular school of movement sometimes performed as a part of the Kabuki theatre); and Bon ('dance' done to honour the dead), she argues that,

> If outsiders want to class them together by some sort of Western criteria that is one thing, but anthropologically they are not even part of the same activity systems. They are not 'art' or 'reflection', and anthropologically they should be looked at as the movement dimensions of separate activities (1978:47).

This observation is of crucial importance to anthropology, not only for dance, showing as it does the necessity of taking into account indigenous concepts and practices which might at first sight appear to be of the same type or class.

Kaeppler concludes her discussion with a reference to Schiefflin's ethnographic study of the Gisaro (1976), a "cultural scenario" done by the Kaluli of New Guinea, as the best example of the anthropological approach to dance (1978:48). This is somewhat ironical, given Kaeppler's ongoing commitment to choreology as such ("dance can tell us about society and the human behaviour that has generated divers cultural systems" [1978:411]). A quick look at Schiefflin's bibliography reveals that his sources bear no relation to those of professed choreologists, and instead are taken from works on social anthropology and Papuan linguistics. Is there then an anthropology of dance?

The approach in this study is to assume as little as possible, in keeping with Kaeppler's injunctions about imposed categorical separability. The following chapter will open with a discussion of the word so far translated as 'dance', and then consider the palace

dancing of Yogyakarta. Frameworks employing syntactical, semantic, and semiotic theory will be used to open up problems arising from dance terminologies, names, and references. The next chapter will return to a theoretical angle, reveal complex ramifications needed in order to preserve simultaneously the dance as reference (sometimes self-referential identity also), and how it and its forms also pervade and are pervaded by other levels of reference and perspectives. It will be shown that grandiose conceptions (dance-as-language, even dance-as-dance) are best abandoned in favour of lesser clarifications. The kinds of perspectives and broader references will be presented in the remaining four chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. For a survey of general problems in approach to dance, see Copeland and Cohen 1983; and Best 1974, 1978. Theoretical questions regarding dance and anthropology may be found in Sachs 1938; Boas 1972; Kurath 1960; Lange 1975; Blacking 1977; Royce 1977; Kaeppler 1978; Hanna 1979; and most recently, Spencer (in press) who provides an extensive bibliography. References for specific issues and cases are given where relevant.

2. Royce suggests that this "contextual" approach among dance-theorists is represented by Kealiinohomoku and Merriam (1977:13), although the work of Gertrude Kurath should also be mentioned here.

3. For a thematic approach, see Copeland and Cohen 1983 who start with a clear explanation of the three traditional theories in dance analysis, those of imitation, expression, and form (and see Chapter IV below). Spencer (in press) introduces a collection of papers on the dance with reference to the following themes: (i) as a safety valve (the cathartic theory); (ii) as an organ of social control (functionalist theories); (iii) as a cumulative process (theory of self-generation); (iv) as having elements of competition (theories of boundary display; (v) as ritual drama (theory of communitas and antistructure).

4. See Best 1978 on illegitimate metaphors in dance analysis.

5. See for example comments about constraints on applicability (Huxley 1977) and cases of ethnographic particularities not fitting nearly or predictably into such categories as 'mind-body' or more widely, 'the self': Inden 1976; Hobart 1983.

6. Hanna lists devices which convey meaning in dance as concretisation, icon, styliation, metonymy, metaphor, and actualisation (1979:320). This may be contrasted with Royce's approach which draws on the work of the pioneer Curt Sachs, who proposes three categories of dance, each with its own nexus of meaning: (i) mimetic, abstract and metaphorical dances; (ii) dances in which context determines meaning (this is like Hanna); (iii) dances where intentional meaning is distinguished from non-intentional meanings (1977:204). The categories are analytically not empirically discrete.

7. See Williams for an account of "semasiology", which treats "body language" as a "primary social fact" (1982:163), not as a unitary phenomenon, but with three features: (a) body; (b) space, and (c) "transitive and intransitive features of a hierarchy of human choice". Its attempt is not "to offer a meta-theoretical level of explanation that consists of motivational, behavioural, or religious explanation of what human movement consists" but rather to "crack the codes" of gesture and so forth, in the spirit of an "ongoing concern in anthropology with the interdependence of linguistics, social and movement elements in the human domain" (1982:165-6) (on codes, cf. Chapter IV). Noting Best's comments, she hopes to avoid the reductionism he has attacked.

8. The specifications prevalent in the Indian theatrical traditions (for example, Vatsyayan 1980) suggest that Williams is somewhat inaccurate to speak categorically of the accompanying rhythmic syllables in Katak dancing as "nonsense syllables".

9. This is closer to the approach used by Ranger to discuss the Beni Ngoma dance of East Africa (1975).

10. This brings us full circle to 'what is dance'! See Spencer (in press:Introduction) who suggests that dance is not separable from the concept of institution and that the institution to which dance properly belongs is that of ritual action. A problem might arise here concerning what ritual action is, and how it may be understood as a sphere of reference rather than just a bounded institution as such.

11. Nor might they include it as expected: see for example what the Venda of South Africa understand by 'music' (Blacking 1976: 6, 27); for the case of 'music' in Java, see Chapter IV, below.

CHAPTER III

THE NAMING OF PARTS

> The Javanese language is not the less remarkable for its copiousness in some respects, than for its meagreness and poverty in others. In unimportant trifles, it deals in the most puerile and endless distinctions, while in matters of utility, not to say in matters of science, it is utterly defective....There are with the Javanese ten ways of standing and twenty of sitting, and each has its distinct and specific appelation (Crawfurd 1820, Vol.III:7-9).

> To unlock a society, look at its untranslatable words (Rushdie 1983:104).

Learning by signs.

> El Hashma had the reputation of teaching by signs. A man was greatly attracted by this idea and travelled for years until he arrived at the sage's school. As soon as he saw him, Hashma said: "You must be prepared to learn, at least the first steps to wisdom, by words alone". The man protested: "I can get words anywhere. I came to learn by signs". Hashma said: "Everyone wants to learn by signs, gestures and exercises, since they have heard that it is possible. The result has been that they are too excited by the prospect to be able to do so. Such is their excitement that they cannot perceive it, and shout, "We are not excited!" Therefore we must resort to an alternative until ready - words and readings" (Sufi story in Shah 1977:170).

Theoretical concerns about dance raised in the last chapter lead to a challenge to the very notion of an anthropology of dance in the form of a question raised by Kaeppler about the separability of different movement schema into a distinct (and separate) category such as 'dance'.

This chapter will aim to specify categories in the dance practice as related to the Sultan's palace in Yogyakarta. Firstly the problem of translating 'dance' will be discussed. This will be followed by an analysis of terminology used in the practice and the classifications available to structure the practice. Implications of this terminological data will be presented broadly through the bearing of syntactical, semantic, and semiotic approached on them. This analysis will also permit the introduction of further concerns which broaden the boundaries of the enquiry and which will be developed in subsequent chapters.

(i) Bĕksa/joged

So far I have taken the liberty of addressing myself to 'Javanese dance'. Unfortunately, there is no term in Javanese which may be understood as coinciding with the English 'dance', although Indonesian does provide terms: tari, tarian, tari-tari (dance, dances), menari (dancing, to dance).

Javanese has two terms which might appear general: joged in ngoko, the 'low' language level (also giving njoged 'to dance', and jogĕdan, 'dancing'): while krama inggil, the 'polite', honorific level, uses bĕksa.

If bĕksa could be understood as nothing more than a simple lexical substitute for joged when speaking polite Javanese, there would be no problem of translating 'dance'. Language levels in Java however are codes of some complexity. Firstly they show how statuses are established between speakers, the level of address being selected to suit the addressee or the person being discussed; thus high speech

(krama) is used to a person superior or equal in rank to the speaker, low speech (ngoko) to a person equal or inferior in rank to the speaker, and apart from there being an intermediary level (madya), codes may be inflected further by the use of an elevating honorific (krama inggil) or a self-deprecating code (krama andhap). Polite and informal levels alike are subject to these two modifications, which apply chiefly to forms of self-reference and verbs.

Apart from this code of practice which is relational and fluid, there is a second feature about level usage, which is best understood as a hyper-sensitisation of certain terms felt to be close to the person's quality as a human being. Certain low-level terms should never be used of human beings (although they are available for abuse). To use low-level words in this case would be the equivalent of saying that a man has a snout and a muzzle, rather than a nose and a mouth; or that a woman has farrowed, instead of giving birth (Poedjosoedarmo 1969). The effect is like someone saying in English they eat pig and cow instead of pork and beef (see also Chapter VI).

The difference between joged and bĕksa has tended to be caught up in this secondary specification which affects connotations of terms, because of the respect which is conventionally due to the Sultan and his palace (kraton). The importance placed on differentiating the practice within the palace (jĕro) from that outside (jaba) will be described in detail in Chapter V, but for now it cannot be overstressed that dancing in the palace cannot be joged -this also implies the diminished status of the performer. As already stated, the palace prerogative has leaked, and palace practice prevails in many other spheres today, and it is perhaps a symptom of this that one finds joged

used in reference to what is strictly speaking reserved as bĕksa. Other interpretations and strategies may also come into play concerning the determination of appropriate levels in this area, as will be seen later. In spite of this, to speak of bĕksa is normally to collude with a use which entails a string of assumptions about correctness, value, and tradition. The general public may infer that a foreigner studying 'tari Jawa' B.I. ('Javanese dance') is interested not in palace forms but in 'new creations';[1] if the discussion is held in Javanese, however, misunderstanding is less likely to occur, the specification being clear, denoting palace dancing or dancing deemed to be 'classical'.

Specification is important: forms introduced in Chapter I may be bĕksa, but usually the specific is named: Bĕksan Etheng (Bĕksan is a collection of or repeating of bĕksa).[2] As already noted, specific forms have had specific occasions to determine their use, something which is still known by those who fully understand the implications of bĕksa and who remember the palace practice before 1940. Within the palace practice, bĕksa has specific technical references, as will become evident in the course of this analysis. It should also be noted that there is no Javanese word for 'dancer': performers are usually named for the forms they take part in: palace dancers are bĕdhaya, srimpi, golek, ringgit (in the Wayang Wong). Sometimes reference will be made to 'the one who dances' (ingkang bĕksa).[3] A complete group will be prefixed by the term para: 'all the', thus para bĕdhaya, 'all the bĕdhaya'.

It is clear that one should be careful in attempting to generalise about 'dance', on both linguistic and ethnographic grounds. Indeed,

it might perhaps already have seemed that one is confronting 'theatre' rather than 'dance', although this would not help to clarify the situation, bearing in mind the use of separability as a means of criticising theoretical approaches to non-Western phenomena. Certain conclusions may be drawn regarding 'dance', 'theatre', and also 'drama', once the analysis has been presented. However, it should be borne in mind that the ethnography shows a lack of generalising terms: there is no 'music', sound normally being referred to according to the source: gamĕlan (music) is the product of a gamĕlan orchestra, and the term karawitan implies the practice of playing in such an orchestra (Lindsay 1979; Becker and Feinstein 1984). Broader still, English words such as 'culture' and 'art' have no easy Javanese equivalents, the reasons for this being reserved until the time comes to consider the implications of the technical analysis proposed here.

It should be remembered that 'dance' is used with reference to a palace practice, and that more than dance-as-movement is involved in this practice. Dance in performance is always accompanied by music with singing in parts; it is introduced by a chanted account of the occasion and the programme (kandha).[4] It involves conventions of costume and make-up of considerable complexity depending on which form is being presented. In Bĕdhaya, floor patterns are vital. Wayang Wong and Bĕksan use dialogue (pocapan). Wayang Wong requires a 'puppeteer' (dhalang), and for some specified Bĕksan, such as Bĕksan Etheng, a group for 'voice-over' dialogue is needed. The list could go on, to include the burning of incense, the making of offerings (less common today), but for now it should be stressed that dance is a

phenomenon with many dimensions. In order to articulate certain problems raised in Chapter II, however, it is necessary both to select, and in keeping with the ethnography, to avoid generalisations at a formal level, so the analysis will start with dancing for females (bĕksa putri), and will rely tacitly on a training form used in the palace, the Sari Tunggal.[5]

(ii) Bĕksa Putri: The Female Dance Mode

In spite of the convention of male to female transvestitism in performances in the Sultan's palace in Wayang Wong, Golek, occasionally Srimpi, and until 1914, Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, until the middle of this century, dance forms are ascribed to two genders. Gender difference leads to a distinction of manner in movement-making resulting in what will here be referred to as modes (bĕksa); these modes are those as used in Yogya palace tradition. Here, the mode for females (or males playing females) is bĕksa putri (putri = girl, daughter k.). Some venues in Yogya training classical dance use the term bĕksa nggrudha or bĕksa ngĕncĕng ĕncot, not in fact two different modes (Soedarsono et al. 1978:67-8), but synonyms for the Kridha Bĕksa Wirama name for the female mode. The influence of KBW on terminologies in contemporary palace practice has been extensive and sometimes confusing, although there is now a strategy to extricate a palace convention. Where this has been done explicitly, notes will sometimes be made to the KBW variations, to help illustrate the kind of options available in constructing systems in dance analyses by practitioners.

A dance mode will refer to a way of dancing in a prescribed manner. As will be shown later, there are many modes for male dancers,

one reason being that the male physique and musculature is less able to adapt to a preferred standard than that of the female. This very noticeable asymmetry between homogeneity for females and heterogeneity for males should not be taken as a sign of lower status and the imposition of a repressive standardisation for females. As will gradually become evident, Javanese values place adaptability and flexibility above brute strength; there is no crude 'macho' ideal, and the mastery of bĕksa putri by male as well as female dancers in the past and by male trainee teachers today is very much respected. If we consider Javanese dance movements to be delicate, many in Yogyakarta say that performance conditions now (larger audiences, electricity, etc.) have necessitated their "widening" (for example in arm movements), not only in the 'strong' male modes, but also in the female ones: movements today are "bigger" than formerly.

Although the mode Putri is homogenised, there are three character emphases which should be noted here for further reference. These are luruh, the most subdued and submissive type; branyak, the most aggressive; and least common, tumandak or tĕmantu , in between. People usually explain the two common types with reference to the three wives of the hero Arjuna, Sĕmbadra being the submissive one, Srikandhi, the belligerent one, and his first wife, Larasati, as in between. The differences between female and male characterisation will be described below.

One cannot stress too much the tendency today to favour the Srikandhi temperament.[6] Javanese dance, particularly female dance, has suffered in the past from a bad press in either negative or exaltative terms. For example, too many entertainments suffered while

Regent of Yogyakarta in the early nineteenth century lead to John Crawfurd making his point in no uncertain terms:

> To the gravity and solemnity which belong to the inhabitants of a warm climate, any display of agility would appear indecorous, as their stately and sluggish minuet dancing appears insupportably tiresome to our more volatile and lively tempers (1820, Vol.I:122).

He did, however, note correctly that dancing is "somewhat more, indeed, than an amusement, often mingling itself with the more serious business of life" (1820, Vol.I:121)

It is now fashionable, obligatory even, to praise rather than denigrate what is unfamiliar, and female dancing in the Javanese courts has inspired more than one rhapsody on the theme of "the feeling of a moonlit night" (Holt 1937:846; also Morrison 1975, 1977). Whether or not performers feel their vacancy (if they have one) in these terms remains to be seen, though the preference for the more lively temperament for females should be kept in mind, later on. But for now, the sluggishness attributed to the dances belies the effort and sweat which goes into producing an appearance of easy control, working with the music to produce an effect called 'flowing water' (toya mili), an aesthetic value we shall have cause to return to presently. As one former dance student put it, a dancer should look as if (s)he has no bones, only muscles. However, the dance sequence ngĕncĕng is from kĕncĕng, 'concentrated, disciplined'. Looks can deceive. If dance is measured, it is not slow, and the fighting sections, which come into all dance (with the exception of the male Klana, the female Golek, and one or two Bĕdhaya) are swift and disorientating, as beginners have found to their cost. The formations in Bĕdhaya are also changed at very high speed. It has been observed that "a dance is a stylisation

of ordinary everyday movements" (Suryobrongto 1970). What this means, or whether it is in fact true of Javanese dance, will be developed below (iib). Before proceeding to an analysis, some information about specific dance forms is required.

ii(a) Bĕksa as Forms

In order to prevent confusion in the subsequent analysis of bĕksa putri, I shall give further notes on the female forms introduced in Chapter I, with reference in particular to the compositional content in the forms as they relate to each other.

Bĕdhaya and Srimpi both open with a short song (lagon), and an entrance march (kapang-kapang majĕng) accompanied by a form called Ladrang, sometimes with a Western drum added. (For explanations of compositional terms, see Kunst 1973; Becker and Feinstein 1984). The dancers take up their positions under the centre of the building, usually between the four main pillars (saka guru) (but see Chapter V), and sit. There follows an introduction of the occasion and performance (kandha) by a male voice, and a short solo (lagon) by a female voice. This is accompanied by a few instruments softly, then the whole ensemble and mixed chorus strikes up, the tapping on the wooden box (kĕprak) tells the dancers it is time to rise, which they do.

Yogyakartan Bĕdhaya traditionally has two parts; the first presents an abstract series of formations (see Appendix 3 for analysis), and this is accompanied by lyrics (pĕsindenan) taken from songs of the Agĕng (big) or Tĕngahan (medium) type: if 'big', in Dhandhanggula or Asmaradana metres; if 'medium', in Mijil or Kinanthi (see Slametmulyana 1956; Kartomi 1973a; Supardjan 1975). Bĕdhaya involves

complex floor patterns when using nine dancers, and these look similar for both parts of the dance. The long line formation is considered the test for any dancer, as movement execution is most easily observed and compared at this point. The first part ends, the dancers salute, sit, and the orchestra subsides, while a short song accompanied only by a few instruments is performed. Then the orchestra takes up, the dancers salute, and rise again as the whole chorus takes up the lyrics. These are usually on panygeric themes of love (gandrung) and war (pĕrang); their relation to the dance will be discussed below. The second part of the dance is similar to the first, except that there is usually a short fight, during which seven dancers take a kneeling position and two leading performers dance a simple fight (requiring only a couple of sequences: for instance, gajah ngoling and lampah sĕkar) using daggers (or bows and arrows less commonly). The music accompanying this will be made up of gĕndhing and kĕtawang forms (the lajuran uses a ladrang), considered to be among the most beautiful of all gamĕlan music. The Bĕdhaya ends with a series of formations after the fight where, as in the first half, the dancers sit in rows of three and salute. Then there is a short song (lagon), and a marched exit in the same style as the entrance. The orchestra then subsides and a final softly accompanied song (lagon) closes the dance.

Srimpi, after the marched entrance and the music has started (Gĕndhing and Ladrang) shows four women who represent two pairs of fighters. The gradual build-up to conflict is accompanied by a sung chorus. There is then a pause, with a softly accompanied song, and the music resumes as the dancers draw their daggers and engage in

battle, done without vocals, but with a more forceful musical accompaniment starting off perhaps as a kĕtawang, but going into what is called ayap-ayapan for the fight itself, returning to the kĕtawang after the fight is over (on these forms, see Gitosaprodjo 1984:366,373): this is denoted by one pair kneeling in defeat as singing resumes, and then all the dancers rising and dancing, before sitting and saluting. A brief song, and then, like the Bĕdhaya, there is a marched exit.

Golek, the solo dance for females, has a similar structure except that there is no marched entrance or exit, the dancer comes into the centre to a musical accompaniment, and sits while a lagon is sung. She then dances while the gamĕlan plays a gĕndhing with rhythmic sections which male singers clap to. The lyrics are sĕkar tĕngahan or alit (macapat: medium and small songs). The clapping is associated with janggrung forms outside the palace, such as fertility dancing and drinking party frolics, performed by ladies of reputedly loose morals (tledhek, ronggeng). The Golek is the nearest to the boundary between palace and outside (jaba).

Bĕksan for females start like Golek, and proceed like Srimpi, but at the pause before the fighting begins, it is popular today to have dialogue (pocapan) between the two protagonists. As in Srimpi, the loser kneels. Like Golek, there is no march in or out.

Female dance in Wayang Wong is a combination of the above, depending on whether females are acting as servants and attendants (biyada) or as queens or emissaries who engage in battle. The dances here are either formational traverses of the stage or fighting sequences.

In the past Bĕdhaya and Srimpi music was in the pelog scale, while Wayang Wong was in slĕndra, and Bĕksan in either (Groneman 1888). Today either scale is used, but for Bĕdhaya there is a preference for melodies

in pathĕt ĕnĕm (Hood 1954; Kunst 1972; Becker and Feinstain 1984). It is hoped that these notes will help to provide images of the sequences of the forms in general terms, and also show the variation in texture, between dance, music, and song. Contemporary forms diverge from the palace norms, and the palace itself takes up innovations introduced outside, such as much abbreviated Bĕdhaya compositions, or the use of pocapan (dialogue) in female Bĕksan. Today offerings are not usually made, although some incense may be burned by the gamĕlan and some flowers may be put beside the big ğong. In the past the bĕdhaya themselves shopped for and prepared the offerings (said to be to bless their preparations, rather than being done in a sacrificial spirit), and for the defunct but still revered Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, ritual preparations were made at great expense in the palace kitchens (Sĕkullanggĕn, 'eternal rice').

It is not the intention of this study to conduct a complete survey of all dance forms and their permutations in Yogyakarta today and in the past, but it is important to give some sense of what is involved in the execution of the dance. Having given the broad outlines of what is going on (in conjunction with material presented in the introduction, and the illustrations which may be found at the end of the thesis), it is now time to turn to the theoretical problems and the ways in which dance in Yogyakarta illuminate these.

Putri has been selected for reasons other than familiarity, because this mode is recognised as having the most elaborated scope of movement. The terminology employed is also clearly older than the names of male modes movements: written evidence of virtually similar terminology for Putri may be found in m.s. BS 1B in the KHP

Kridha Mardawa archive which gives the dance movements and lyrics for the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, and is dated AD 1877. (BS 1A gives the musical accompaniment in 'chequered' notation). Sŏme people reckon that all existing dance terminology dates from the reign of the first Sultan, but given the extent to which the Wayang Wong was elaborated and improved under HBVIII, including the movements, and the extent of codification under KBW, it is unlikely that these terms are very old. Even if female terminology is no older than 1877, it is more established as a tradition than the terminologies of the male modes, and is also much better equipped to elucidate questions which usually come up in connection not only with Javanese dance but with Asian theatre and dance in general, and which are rarely dealt with adequately.

ii(b) The Problem: Expectations of Sense

The first question usually asked about dance forms of this type by Westerners concerns their meaning, particularly as so much importance appears to be placed on the positions and movements of the hands, and some people have a knowledge of the part hands play in Indian dance, and assume that there is a similarity,[7] and that the expressivity must be connected to signification. This assumption is not restricted to the interested lay-person. In a recent work on semiotic analysis, reference is made to

> Eastern theatrical traditions where explicit kinesic conventions allow a sustained autonomous gestural discourse of considerable syntactic and semantic richness (Elam 1980:69, my emphasis).

Although Elam does point out later that the evolver of kinesics, R.L. Birdwhistell, defined gesture as "bound morphemes, incapable of standing alone", and thus making a lexicon of gesture impossible (1980:70-1),

the notion of a sense-saturated gestural power in Eastern theatre remains, particularly with regard to the idea that a particular gesture will have a particular denotational value with reference to an object in the world: dance patterns in Indonesian dancing are "codified, names, and assigned denotative meaning" (Royce 1977:194-5).

The problem of expecting gesture, particularly hand gestures, to have this denotational and ultimately narrative force is compounded by the comparison which tends to be made between Indian and Javanese dance forms. Evidence of Indian-like postures on temple reliefs in the region is used to make generalisations or unsubstantiated claims about the persistence of codes and practices such as have been laid out in the canon of classical Indian dance and theatre, the Nāṭyaśāsta (Ghosh 1951), and more than one student of the dances of the central Javanese courts has been eager to put the name 'mudrā' to the hand positions.[8] The problem is exacerbated by generalisations made about Indian forms themselves: whereas the classical Bhāratanāṭyam from south India may use a close movement-to-word reference in parts of the form, not all dance has this characteristic; a strong case has been put forward for the combination of classical (margi) and local or regional (deśī) precepts in a number of forms existing in different parts of India today, where "hastabhinaya, the stylized gesticulation pattern, particularly of the hands, is absent in most" (Vatsyayan 1980:13; also 62). It is also worth noting that the Nāṭyaśāstra is quite specific in its distinction between hand gestures which may be single or combined (asaṃyuta hasta and saṃyuta hasta) used for dramatic purposes, and 'dance hands' (nṛtta hasta). The dramatic hands may have names for gestures, such as Patāka, 'flag', but Patāka will not

denote 'flag' in the mime section of the dance, but one or more from 'scorching heat, shallow pool of water, speedy movement of wind, flight of birds upwards', etc. (Ghosh 1951:Ch.9). Indian classical conventions distinguish between nṛtta, "abstract movement, pure dance" (chiefly concerned with rhythm), and nṛtya, "movements of the body to communicate a theme, dance with a thematic content" (Vatsayayan 1980: 201-2). No such distinction exists in Yogyakartan dance in spite of claims to the contrary (Lelyveld 1931:14; 63; Cuisinier 1951:57).

It is not my purpose here to develop a discussion of the viability of a comparison between the forms, as such discussion merely leads to speculation. However, having noted certain points which bear on the structuring of movements in certain Indian forms once the Javanese forms had been carefully analysed and reference to Indian forms being made by informants, these are given in footnotes. It will become clear that if a comparison is to be drawn between the two cultures, then it might be less specious to consider forms where features have lost their referential power, as noted in the Nāṭyaśāstra of 'dance-hands', something which is generally overlooked by seekers of sense in the dance movements of the Eastern 'Other'.

At the outset, it is useful to clarify the case of hands in the female dance mode of the Kasultanan palace in Yogyakarta. There are four hand positions: ngruji, ngithing, nyĕmpurit, and ngĕpel (Illustrations 13-16).. These positions are classed as patrap and executed according to certain preconditions (pathokan), of which more will be said below, in the following way.

All dance (male and female) starts in a sitting position (sila panggung for females, sila marikĕlu for males (Illustrations, 17,60).

For females, the hands are folded in the lap, left under right, the left thumb resting between right thumb and first finger; this hand position is unnamed; the folded hands for the male position is ngapurancang. The hands are then brought together, thumbs level with the nostrils, in the salutation (sĕmbah, Illustration 18). The dancer then moves into a kneeling position (jengkeng, Illustration 19), her left hand in ngithing, wrist on knee, right hand at the waist in ngĕpel. As she stands up (ngadĕg), both elbows straighten and the hands make ngithing at the sides. As she draws up her hands having taken up the sash in a movement called panggĕl (Illustration 20) she shifts her body weight to the left, the left hand is in ngruji, with the sash over the wrist, and the right in nyĕmpurit, with or without the sash. Wrist movements which turn the hand are of two kinds, full or half turn (ukĕl asta wĕtah, ukĕl asta jugag), both very important in dance training. The general rule is that when the left hand is in ngruji, the right should be in nyĕmpurit, whether arms are bent, or straight (as in the case of duduk wuluh, Illustration 21). Special dance forms such as Bĕdhaya Sĕmang have particular moments when a certain combination of hand position and sash are used.[9]

It should be stressed that these hand poses have no other names.[10] Although van Lelyveld refers to them as single-hand gestures (asamyuta hasta, 1931:77), there are no names for combined hand gestures: the standard use of left-hand ngruji right-hand nyĕmpurit is described as I have just written it, there is no name. Two exceptions, however, should be noted: the salutation (sĕmbah); and tumpang tali, in which the wrists are held together, with left-hand ngruji right-hand nyĕmpurit, and turned so that the left hand is on top, and then the right, etc.[11]

These brief comments show that extreme caution is needed in assigning meaning even to the most minimal form, i.e., to a single gesture. It is clear that while an Indic character is given to contemporary palace dance in Yogyakarta, it should not be assumed that gestures automatically carry significations.

Patrap and pathokan mentioned above, are terms used to describe the structure of a dance mode, and refer to the disposition of body elements and the preconditions by which these dispositions are achieved respectively. Sequences of dispositions made under these conditions are understood to form units, (sometimes 'figure', 'motif'). The Javanese word for this is usually bĕksa, and very rarely, 'flower' (kĕmbang: van Lelyveld 1922). Such units are named (see below).

The way in which these units form sequences is one way in which the problem of signification of dance may be approached, with dance elements being treated syntactically. A second concern is that of the names given to movements, and whether these can be understood as reference-bearing systems; something will be said of this semantic aspect of dance, firstly with regard to terminology and secondly with regard to story-telling. A third approach will be used to consider the wide range of dance modes, in order to see where there is a semiotic system in Yogyakartan dance, and whether this derives from the gestural system or from other elements.[12] It is hoped that by separating out these three approaches the question of how dance makes sense may be clarified, if not fully resolved at this juncture.

Before this, however, it is necessary to explain briefly how dance movement works in relation to the musical patterns and structures.

Dance movements follow musical cycles through one of the set of preconditions (pathokan), and (w)irama 'measure', glossed as 'rhythm'.[13] Beats are usually in groups of eight, with stresses on 8th, 16th, 24th, 32nd, etc. beat, depending on the kind of structure and rhythm being used (see Gitosaprodjo 1984:365-73). The dynamic of the music is towards this fall (ulian), which is the opposite of the élancé nature of stress in Western music (padang) where the first beat of a bar is accented.

Let us consider as an example, the training dance Sari Tunggal. This uses a form of music called kĕtawang, in which there are sixteen beats to the gong, with the intermediary eighth beat being marked by one of a group of smaller, horizontally-hung gongs, kĕnong. This dance lasts about thirty minutes, and has thirty-five beats of the big gong. The other extreme is the defunct Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, which has one-hundred-and-twenty-six beats of the big gong, and is said to have taken between two-and-a-half and three hours to perform.

The dancer fits her movements to the music by attending to specific percussion instruments: the big gong (gong agĕng), the kĕnong (see above), a group of smaller hung gongs (kĕmpul), and a single, small, horizontally-hung gong (kĕthuk), which are notated as Gong, nong, pul, and thuk.

Thus a section of Sari Tunggal may be given in skeletal form as follows, the dashes indicating the places filled by basic and elaborating instruments and the rhythm-directing drum (kĕndhang):

A
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
— thuk — pul — thuk — nong — thuk — pul — thuk — nong/gong

The numbers show how the sequence is counted out in dance training: 'si-ji, lo-ro, ti-ga, pa-pat, li-ma, ĕ-nĕm, pi-tu, wo-LU!, the 'LU' indicating the accent of the gong. These numbers correspond to the numbers in the following example, starting at 'A', which is one of the most simple dance units (bĕksa) in Sari Tunggal, called ngĕndhĕrĕk. It uses a dance sash (udhĕt) which is tied round the waist and hangs to the floor in two lengths.

1. Knee bend, look left; left hand ngruji, right hand takes up sash.
2. Left foot kick (gĕdrug: the foot comes forward, draws the sash (and fold of the skirt) back and puts the toe down behind (Illustrations 22, 23).
3. Up on toes (jinjit).
4. Knee bend, left foot behind flattens, body turned left.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right foot
7. Lean and set to (mapan), weight in right foot.
8. Flick right sash back, look right, left hand remains in ngruji in front.

This is repeated three times, the gong stroke falling on the first and third repeats. The next bĕksa sequence is called imbal, and may be understood as a contrast to ngĕndhĕrĕk in two respects: firstly, it does not use the sash where ngĕndhĕrĕk did all the time; secondly, it moves forwards, whereas ngĕndhĕrĕk moves sideways. Choreographic sequences are constructed out of such units to give this kind of variation which is not only desirable in choreography, but in all things aesthetic. (For the complete Sari Tunggal, see Appendix 2.)

Although training uses counting, the effect of the movement is supposed to be like 'flowing water' (toya mili). This should be expressed by the way one performs the movements in relation to the music. Although more will be said on this subject later, it is necessary here to note what this means in our illustration. The less experienced a dancer, the more literally she will interpret the counting: she will probably rush 4, and be left still between 5 and 6, although the flowing water principle should mean that the dancer is never still - there should always be a hand turning or a neck twisting even if the shift of body weight appears temporarily to be held in what is, in fact, an incessant shifting of weight from one leg to the other. Some teachers say that dance in Java is "all on one leg", and this is as true of female modes as of male ones, although less obvious. The experienced dancer, then, will develop and exploit the lack of coincidence which may be found between the layers of musical texture, between the percussive gongs noted above, the tapping of the wooden kĕprak,[14] and the differences between the shifts in the dance and the continuous melodic flow of the metallophones and other instruments providing the skeleton melody (balungan), as well as the syncopated effects of the drumming which provides the cues for change of rhythm and pace within the whole ensemble. The experienced dancer will aim then at fluency which is at once continuous, sustained, and measured, but rather than movement being laid congruently against the musical structure, it should be "late but not late" (nggampuh). It was observed that coincidence is frequent, as in the flicking or throwing back of the right sash on a kĕnong beat and often on the culmination of gong and kĕnong; bĕksa units which do not have this coincidence achieve

a strong expressive effect by the absence, going against expectation of repetition in rhythm. Neck movements also involve strategies with regard to the music. Palace convention in Yogyakarta demands a flexible neck which moves as if in a figure of eight (tolehan: Illustrations 24, 25) and which should also be moving in relation to the torso 'like a snake' (kados sawĕr k.). A senior teacher claimed that the neck was the key (kunci B.I.) to the female dance mode: "If the neck is alright, the other little mistakes don't matter". She pointed out that if the neck is turning on the eighth beat, it should continue to turn through to the next count which is 'one'; this is considered to be a Yogyakartan convention, and that in Surakarta the neck does not continue after the eighth count, and thus spoils the 'flowing water' effect. It will have emerged by now that a fully accurate expressive transcription or notation of dance in its relation to the music is no simple matter.

Having described the pattern of dance as it stands to music rather let us consider how its structure might be understood in simple terms. Early on during fieldwork an important informant, speaking in Indonesian (at that stage), explained the relation of dance movement to music in the following terms: "The music is like punctuation in a sentence; the kĕnong, kĕmpul, and kĕthuk are commas, the big gong a full stop; one musical sentence is then filled in with two or three motifs (ragam B.I.)." Ragam is an Indonesian word meaning, among other things, 'way, manner; kind, sort, type' (Echols and Shadily 1972). Dance teachers denied an etymological link with the Skt rāga which does nowever provide a Javanese term used of movement which will be returned to later, wiraga,[15] another area of convention in dance.

The use of ragam in Indonesian provided a simple articulation of an approach using a syntactical analogy, the feasibility of which would have seemed less apparent had the discussion been in Javanese: ragam (B.I.) may coincide with some of the meanings of bĕksa, but not all of them; and it never 'means' 'dance' - there is a semantic short-circuiting which occurs in the use of Indonesian.

In view of common expectations of kinesic repleteness in the Oriental world, it is necessary to examine a structure other than the musical one, in which named units form a part. Dance movement may come before the names it is given, and be independent of these, but it will be seen that the concepts of form and sequence also generate both possibilities and constraints on how parts are identified and thus named, and how they relate to other parts. Even if it has a meaning, a part's name may not coincide with that denotation, as the Indian 'Patāka' example has already shown. However, it is clear that a clarification of the relation of the parts to the names, and the names to expected referentiality, be given here, to provide a degree of proportion in what has developed into an image of the East based on illusions of sense. As we have seen, this illusion arises not only from generalisations from one culture to another, but within a single form.

Let us now consider the terms pathokan, patrap, and bĕksa, in rather more detail in order to clarify first of all the question of sense or signification residing in sequences.

Pathokan is usually rendered in Indonesian as dasar, 'foundation', but also implied 'boundary', 'conditions', 'requirements', 'conventions',

or as rendered here, 'preconditions'. In dance it is used of the rules which must be fulfilled as a precondition of bĕksa being achieved. It is used to determine the following: (a) the (dis)position of eyes, neck, body angle,[16] arms, hands, hips (cĕthik = tops of thighs), thighs, and toes; (b) the execution of the bending sinking movement (mĕndhak, Illustrations 26, 27), and the effect on the turning out of the thighs and position of the knees and the way in which the body leans (ngoyog), as a result of the ways in which the bend is done; (c) the three measures of music movements, and direction creating the effect of toya mili. These preconditions should result in an effect which is pleasing (luwĕs), fitting (patut), and clean (rĕsik) (Suryobrongto 1981: 60-7).[17] Matters of manner and effect will be taken up again in the consideration of metaphysical implications of the dance practice in Chapter VII.

As far as the female dance mode goes, footwork is the element which first needs establishing in training, the rest follows from that; toes should always be turned up (ngleĕkĕnthĕng, Illustration 29); wrists are important (these last two were noted for special attention in examinations in dance in KBW in the 1930s). The knees should be turned out, and the hips should be kept in a line with one's spine, not tilted to the side as in Balinese dance. How to control one's cĕthik (it helps to concentrate on one's hip-bones), how to move one's body weight (ngleyek) and lean (ngoyog), usually on a plane from left to right, are the greatest difficulties in mastering Javanese dance. Moving the body weight upwards (ĕncot) without upsetting the cĕthik is also a problem. Some of the problems are best understood by looking at some typical errors demonstrated by an exponent of the palace practice (Illustrations 28-37). Elbows should be held so that the armpit is not too tight or wide,

and should not flap about. Wrists should be very supple indeed, as should the neck. In female dance, except during fights, the dancer's gaze should always fall on the floor at a distance of about three times her body height.

Patrap is cognate with atrap: 'to arrange, order', etc., and is 'walk, behaviour, order, arrangement'. Patrap is used for the position or disposition of the limbs and other body parts according to pathokan, which for patrap becomes a paradigm of options: arms cannot be lifted above a certain point, eyes look down not up, otherwise the effect is coquettish (kěnes) or vulgar (ronggeh). Patrap thus occurs within the body space pathokan permits, and is close to 'pose', 'gesture'. It does not however sit neatly in a classification in the form of a nesting taxonomy as an element fitting neatly into the next category up or down, as became evident when trying to classify dance poses and movements with informants who invariably ran patrap into běksa.

Běksa may be glossed as 'dance', but dance as premised on there being movement. This aspect of běksa emerges only if one has attempted the classification of parts. Běksa in its most specific and technical sense is gesture-in-motion, patrap-in-action. Thus the sequence ngěndhěrěk is běksa.

However, unfortunately for neatness, a series of named movements is běksa, but so is the unitary wrist twist (ukěl), with the hand held in ngithing, for instance. Ngithing is patrap, not a titled běksa; but the action of turning the wrist moving the so-disposed hand is běksa, part of a sequence, a minimal unit, but no less běksa than a lengthy performance of Běndhaya Sěmang. Ngithing then is patrap; ngithing plus movement is běksa. Parts of dance would be described

as patrap, with the qualification that once moving, they are bĕksa. Bĕksa expressed as titled movement sequences (see categories three, five, and six below) include all patrap and the full range of pathokan (conventions). But all patrap are not titled bĕksa. If one were to insist on a literalism in translation based on the substitution of terms understood as equivalent, one would be cornered into saying that 'all dance is dance but some dance is more dance than others'.[18] There is also a problem about when bĕksa may be understood to begin and finish: one theory suggests that this is only once the dancer is standing after the opening salutation (Siswa Among Bĕksa 1982:61); another that it starts when the dancer appears on the stage, and finishes when she/he leaves it. Neither of these views give a boundary based on musical and vocal accompaniments: ending is gradual.

Another term is less important than the first three but used as a class of movements which illustrate a peculiar feature of dance: sĕndhi is 'comma, link, concealment', from Skt sāndhyā (Supardjan 1975:11), a term vital for understanding connections, relations and correlations in both cultures, and a favourite with Yogyakartan wordsmiths for forging etymologies. Sĕndhi illustrates well the problem of consensus and variation within the practice of palace dancing in Yogyakarta today, and is one among several spheres of challenge and contest for the appropriation of the authentic dance practice which occurs most evidently. Distinct views exist in the palace, in the tourist-sponsored dance organisaton, and in KBW practice. For example, in the palace, 'flying' (nyambĕr) is strictly bĕksa, while in the other organisation it is sĕndhi, a choreographic link phrase; gĕdrug (kick) suffers the fate of being classed variously as patrap, bĕksa,

and sĕndhi. Palace sĕndhi include gĕdrug, panggĕl (the first movements once the dancer stands up), tancĕp (standing position in dialogue), ngancap (collecting oneself, usually with a foot placed behind the other and a hand-scarf pose taken up, before changing direction). Sĕndhi status seems to be the most arbitrary of categories, but in the context of a general project to systematise choreographic precepts, in keeping with the trends to standardise and publish, the problem is crucial and raises questions about the limits of flexibility and the likelihood of fixity becoming a norm where in the past it has been dispensable.

One attempt to analyse the structure of palace dance in Yogyakarta has been presented by Stephanie Woodard (1976). She defines movement units into "phrase, subphrase, and basic movement unit", with further subdivisions of phrases in "variations" (she offers 'nggurda' and mayang sĕkar, both KBW terms for palace ngĕncĕng and gajahan respectively; ngĕndhĕrĕk would figure here, perhaps), and "transitions" (the equivalent of sĕndhi?). These two kinds of phrases are provided with subphrases, which in the case of transitional varieties (maybe we are not dealing with sĕndhi after all) usually relate to "some kind of walking" (1976:11). She notes that the subphrase is made up of the basic movements of the dance style (the patrap of the mode?), and the phrases and basic movements have names; the subphrases are not named however, "because they are not recognised as units by Yogyanese dancers" (1976:13).

Woodard indeed takes a somewhat negative tone at the close of her analysis:

> Applying a descriptive method to Jogyanese transitions would be ironic, in a sense. They appear easiest to classify this way because of their modular, practical, almost

> mechanical character. Yet they are hardest to classify descriptively because they have a personal, an improvisatory expressive character and are at the heart of the creativity of the dance style (1976:16).

Her article does, however, raise the useful point about appropriate (pathokan) conventions of movement for modes and characters, as she describes her own failure to choreograph Sinta (in the Rāmāyana) to the satisfaction of her tutor, having given the character too many shifts of weight within passages classed as transitional. We should note of Woodard's study that her analysis is based on a dance form choreographed in the tourist-sponsored organisation, where palace dancers find reason to criticise according to palace standards. And secondly, she herself is working on a form of dance called sendratari (dance ballet), which diverges considerably from the conventions of palace classicism, albeit keeping to ideas of movement appropriateness for characters such as Sinta. Had she considered local terms, she might have noticed how variation occurs within alternating sequences (see, for example, the differences between ngĕndhĕrĕk and imbal, above), and between sequences which as we will see may have minimal referentiality or quasi-mimetic allusiveness (Pudjasworo 1982). Her attempts to analyse the dance with reference to generative grammar in the end fail: what she has been speaking of as 'grammar' is in fact the dance sequence. Indeed, her closing remarks show a disillusion with the application of grammatical analysis to such a form, particularly when one takes into account phrasing and training. One might reiterate here that a consideration of local categories may lead to an indication of the situation if not a fully watertight 'system', and will not generate more problems than answers. It would seem that similar problems are

likely to appear in the use of notation according to Benesh, Laban, or Eshkol-Wachsman (Kaeppler 1971:40).

It would appear therefore deceptive to see the musical sentence as carrying with it a dance sentence. The dance sequence fails to achieve the status of grammar, lacking as it does the required fixed values. Indeed, the indications of the uses made of the terms pathokan, patrap, and bĕksa suggest a different model, in which precondition (pathokan) bears on potential (patrap), to manifest in actualisation (bĕksa).

The brief discussion of hand positions in Yogyakarta also suggests that such gestures are not fixed with reference to external objects(s). Rather, it is possible that these may be understood as examples or instances of something and lead to ideas of exemplification and instantiation, rather than regular codes and essences. To define the boundaries of what that 'something' might be, or how understood, as well as to argue for the direction suggested here will take up the remainder of this study. But first, it is necessary to consider once and for all the question of names in Javanese dance terminology - or, more accurately, reference; this subject will also be discussed more broadly in Chapter VI. Here, one or two observations should be made before looking at the case in point.

Ethnographic evidence reveals a paradoxical relation of the sign to the signified, which also has implications for causality which will be returned to later. Take the case of personal names, about which in Yogyakarta two apparently inconsistent views are held. The first is that names are somehow 'right' for their owner (cocog, jodoh, also used of one's 'right' prospective spouse). The second is that

Javanese should change the name they first hold (given on the fifth day after birth) when they marry (a married man should have a name with five syllables in it [Uhlenbeck 1969]), or on promotion. In the palace professional hierarchy, this is a regular occurrence, and creates not a little confusion in identifying people who are not present.[19] A weightier rank requires a heavy (abot) name to replace the former one. For significance in names (a practice called mĕntereng) Sanskritic names are usually chosen to be 'heavy', though English is creeping in among new status systems which depend on Western education and material abundance. However, the action of improving one's name may incur risk. A name may end up being too heavy (kabotan) for its owner, and may fail to match (jodoh): thus an informant told of his grandfather, who, on being promoted to the rank of Riya in the palace, changed his name to Brongtokoesoema (roughly, 'the flower of passion') and shortly after, died. This sad event was attributed by his grandson (who had forgotten the 'cause' of death), to the new name. Like certain phrases, names are considered to have the power to 'effect (ex)changes' in the world (mandi: literally, 'to transact, to sell').

The implications of the combination of arbitrary selection or rejection and causal influence through good words, preferably in Sanskrit, will concern us later. For now, the fact of the option should be borne in mind as names given to dance movements are considered.

The references in dance movement names may be divided into the following groups (the reader is again referred to the photographic illustrations):

1. Terms referring to actual movements, e.g.: to lean (ngoyog); to bend at knees (mĕndhak), to stand (ngadĕg), to kneel (jengkeng); up on toes (jinjit). These are actual actions which may or may not have a use in another technical set.
2. The names of the patrap, such as the four hand positions already discussed in part: self-referential terms.
3. References to self-adornment: fixing hair (atrap rikma), fixing forehead hair (atrap sinom), fixing earrings (atrap sumping, (Illustrations 51, 52), fixing crown (atrap cundhuk, Illustrations 53, 54), powdering face (tasikan, Illustrations 55, 56). Male modes including playing with ring (dolanan supe), brushing moustache (ngusap rawis). All modes have looking in a mirror (ngilo).
4. References to actions from fighting: low sideways thrusts (sudukan, nyuduk); both fend (ecen), one fends (ĕndho); straight hits (jĕblosan, nyĕblos). These terms, like the next category may occur outside a performance.
5. Class names with no reference but to themselves: ngĕndhĕrĕk, imbal. Ngĕndhĕrĕk appears in a dictionary as 'apparently without effort/energy/strength' (Purwadarminta 1939). These classes of movement may therefore possibly be named for the manner or quality of movement, the sequences to which they refer may be understood as kinds of embellished walking, forwards and back or from side to side. There is a term for walking: pĕndapat or lembeyan.
6. Natural references: areca palm in the wind (pucang -kangingan), Illustration 57), waves of water (ombak banyu, Illustration 58),

shifting sands (wĕdi kengser); elephant saluting (gajah ngoling, Illustration 59); taking a flower (ngunduh sĕkar); flying (nyambĕr, nglayang, Illustrations, 45, 49, 50); male modes also have 'mouse nibbling at rice in basket' (cindhil ngungak cĕthing). These names are all applied to bĕksa sequences. The negotiable status of some as sĕndhi link passages has already been discussed. Some bĕksa are names from a combination of actions as listed above in category one.

Each of these six groups of references clearly presents specific problems, and suggests that there is no consistent and unified scheme for making movements and giving them names, just as there was no clear hierarchy of parts fitting into a neat taxonomy of nesting classes.

Let us consider each group in turn.

There is little to say about the first group. The second group generally stimulates individual invention in establishing significances (see Footnote 11). The ngĕpel position was compared to the action of squeezing coconut cream out of the grated flesh, but any suggestion that such an action could be understood as congruent to the one in dance was scorned. There is, however, a trend, resulting from the broadening of the dance style out of the palace, to try to see in dance movements technical actions: thus jĕngkĕng, kneeling, has been compared to the position a woman takes when cooking at a wood stove. This is unlikely if one considers that this kneeling position is so difficult to maintain that a variation allowing the foot to lie flat on the floor (timpuh) has been introduced. Explanations like this reveal more about strategies using the intra-cultural reference and what is considered appropriate rather than the origins of the movements.[20]

Some of the terms may be recognised as existing in other systems in the performing arts, in particular from the shadow play, as will be shown below, and also music. Here, the undulating of two hands from the elbow across the body (ĕmbat) refers in music to tuning or the intervals of a scale. Nyĕmpurit, one of the basic hand positions, is of interest here; sĕmpurit means 'whistle', but the two wooden handles controlling the arms of shadow puppets are cĕmpurit; informants were unimpressed by the suggestion that the dance hand derived from how these are held. In this respect, then, these kinds of references may be understood as semantically neutral, exemplifying only themselves; or as cases of internal references within a tradition (see Gombrich on this, and further implications, in the next chapter).

The third and fourth categories are interesting in so far as they suggest a mimetic dimension, and thus a 'meaningful' one, to dance movement. It is necessary however, to distinguish their use in each form, as the way in which these movements are explained depends on the form in which they occur, their significance here being specific, not general.

In 'high' forms such as Bĕdhaya, Srimpi, and also in Bĕksan fighting duets, these gestures form choreographic entities which are, in the case of self-adorning movements, alternated if used with movements with reference to nature or proper names (categories five and six above). There is no necessary mimetic significance adhering to their performance here, but there is the requirement of aesthetic fittingness (patut) deriving from the importance of hand and wrist in the female mode. Movements involving this detail should not occur in dense clumps, however, and should be interspersed with movements

with a different character, such as involving more spatial traverse or the use of the dance sash (Pudjasworo 1982; see also Appendix 2).

In these dance forms it is unlikely that the audience would know the title of the movements or seek mimetic validation within the dance. This does not apply to the Golek for solo performer however (or the Klana in male modes), for this dance, immediately indentifiable by having a single performer, is known to have as theme self-adornment, subject to metaphoric interpretation on a spiritual plane. The self-adorning gestures are executed in naturalistic order - some indicated this as a way of memorising the sequence - although interspersed non-naturalistically with the abstract movements mentioned above. Humourists pun on the title to make out that the golek dancer is getting ready to 'look for' (nggoleki) a man. This dance is closest to the sexual sphere, an element usually repressed in the palace dance ethos, as Chapter V will show.

The fourth category, that of fighting movements, cannot be fully explained without reference to data yet to be presented, but for now suffice it to say that with the exception of the Golek and Klana, all dance forms for the female mode and the male modes include fights. These are interpreted according to which form they are in, but there is a view held in Yogyakarta that this aspect of dance is a symptom of the repression of martial training of palace troops by the Dutch colonialists, fighting techniques used in dance being a means to keep the troops in training. The classification of dance as sport (olah raga B.I.) today for administrative purposes in the PDK, and its ideological status as a form of self-defence also gives the fighting dimensions of dance links with practices such as the indigenous pĕncak

silat. One expert in dance and silat compared the rising and falling of hands in fixing earrings to the way one protects one's face in silat. In Central Java, however, danced silat to music is less common than in Sunda.[21]

Fights in Yogyakartan palace dance are identified on a continuum from abstract to dramatic, Bĕdhaya having minimal actuality and Bĕksan the most. Male forms are generally regarded as less abstract and more dramatic than female forms, a mistake in the first can lead to injury, but not in the second. Teachers noted that in archery fights and in female dance when the bow is pulled, the left hand remained in place, unlike in real archery. "There is much avoiding of reality (realitas B.I.)", they said, keeping quiet about the fact that the bows used in dance are not real either. Fights usually provide the nearest thing to a story or theme. For example, one story done in both Bĕdhaya and Srimpi forms, is Putri Cina, on the theme of a confrontation between Dewi Adaninggar (of Arabia) who is hoping to wed King Jayĕngrana, and Dewi Kelaswara (of Ceylon?), who is discovered sleeping with Jayĕngrana in his palace. Enraged, Adaninggar challenges her rival to a fight in which she is wounded and subsequently dies, having first repented of her assault and earning the forgiveness of the lovers.[22] It will transpire that the part played by the story-theme in the dance is somewhat unpredictable.

The final category of movements is those which suggest natural references. This category will raise questions which will be set aside until they can be dealt with in a broader discussion of systems of meaning, the theoretical implications of which will be set out in the following chapter, and whose explication will determine considerations of perspective presented in subsequent chapters.

One illustration will serve, that of 'elephant saluting' (gajah ngoling). This movement may be linked to the fact that former Sultans used to keep an elephant in the south square of the palace for ceremonial occasions, upon which the elephant would kneel to the Sultan and roll his trunk in an elaborate salute. This salute influences the way the two hands of the dancer move away from her face in this movement. However, in the dance it has nothing to do with elephants, nor do the lyrics necessarily provide any such reference. The intention is to produce an aesthetically pleasing effect according to the criteria of pathokan and all that these imply. The movement, presumably, is named, like others in this category, some more obviously than others, for how it looks. Thus the 'areca palm in the wind' has the dancer moving her body weight slowly from side to side, with a slight diagonal shift out over an extended dance sash stretched around a bent elbow, left and right alternately (Illustration 57). This kind of correlation is reminiscent of that noted in Kaeppler's discussion of the Tongan Lakalaka, a story section where movements allude to things sung about them, the allusion being (and here is the point of similarity) not to the things as nouns, but to their actions (1971:179); this is also true of certain Indian movements (such as 'waves of the sea', sāgara gati,[23] (Vatsyayan 1980:71).

In Yogyakartan Putri dance, then, movements, from the patrap 'pose' to the sequence of bĕksa, do not entail a kinesic quality of a syntactical or semantic kind. Nor do movements appear to correspond to any kind of sign system, of mudrā or anything else. Nor do they endorse the suggestion of one choreologist that smallness of unit in dance may be associated with literal or pantomimic character

(Cohen 1967:278). In so far as allusiveness will be shown to be highly valued, given that palace practice is the epitome of practice with moral qualities, it follows that it might be unwise to expect a purely denotative system of movement to emerge from this environment. However, as will be made clear in Chapter VI, while external reference may be muted or dissimulated, this may also be achieved by displacement through proliferation, or by redundancy, operating on the two principles mentioned above in connection with naming, that of randomness and that of causality. This dimension may be signalled by the fact that queries about the relation of dance to movements in technical spheres stimulated a distinction in terms of an extra something in dance movement (bĕksa) lacking in other forms of movement, referred to as the inti or sari of the alam, the vitality of the world.[24]

Given the tendency of dance movement not to use much external reference, it is necessary to raise here the question of how the story or theme is depicted. It is also necessary to recall that a dance performance is not separable from theatre, and consists not only of the conventional repertoire of movements and modes, but also of costume, make-up, musical and vocal accompaniments, and in the case of the Wayang Wong, bits of scenery and props.

In the story above, what is seen on the stage is merely the build-up to the fight. In another Srimpi story, Rĕnggawati (originally Srimpi Wulunganbrangta and improved into its present form under HBVII), this dance requires five dancers, to portray four attendants (ĕmban) and the Princess (Rĕnggawati of Banjarsari), a difference which was formerly evident in their dress (Groneman 1888:28-31), but is no longer. The story tells of the metamorphosed King Angling Dharma transformed into

a white bird (mliwis) by three ogresses who tricked him into marrying them. The dance shows the discovery of the bird and concludes with Rĕnggawati removing the bird from a tree (Illustration 5) and exiting with her attendants. As the bird is an heirloom, the dancer playing Rĕnggawati should be 'pure' (suci, here 'prepubescent'). The story ends with the restoration of Angling Dharma to his own form, thanks to the love of the princess: a Javanese 'Frog Prince'.

Many Bĕdhaya and Srimpi dances take their themes from chronicles, as in the Bĕdhaya Bedha Madiun, based on the late sixteenth-century siege and defeat of the town of Madiun in east Java by the founder of the central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, Panĕmbahan Senapati. Having fought with and defeated Adipati Rangga Kĕniten of Madiun who falls, the dance shows Senapati's seduction of the Adipati's daughter, Rĕtnadumilah, who finally succumbs to his magical prowess (sĕkti) and nobility (ksatriyan), and agrees to marry him. This dance is exceptional in Yogyakarta, where most Bĕdhaya and Srimpi centre on overt conflict and not love. Another exception, the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang (no longer performed) was created by HBII as the Yogyakartan counterpart to the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang of Surakarta, both of which are on the theme of the love of Sultan Agung, Senapti's grandson, for Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, Queen of the South Sea.

This dance, like all others, is accompanied by lyrics, as explained above. The lyrics which accompany the Sĕmang in various manuscript recensions (dating from the AD 1836 ms B23 in the Widyabudaya library of the Kasultanan) do not describe in any way this supposed theme which is contained for all forms except Wayang Wong in the kandha (see above) which opens the performance, and may or may not be referred to in

the opening song. Informants trying to establish a correlation between lyrics and movement gave the example of the lyrics praising the beauty of a woman's walk: this correlation might be seen as coincidence rather than evidence for a movement to word relation of the kind found in nātya in the Indic canon. Another relation between lyric and movement pertained to the Golek, where the lyrics 'nyondrong', sing of the ideal model for the female who is represented by the dancer. Most lyrics for Bĕdhaya and Srimpi have as theme panegyrics about the bravery of the king in battle, his lustiness in bed, and the beauty of his beloved. Sung in a literary Javanese with dense proliferations of Old Javanese forms, they are not readily comprehensible, even should one be able to hear them: the human voice in gamĕlan ensembles is treated, like the two-string fiddle (rebab), as another instrument providing another textural level. Although some parts of lyric accompaniment such as the short solo songs (lagon) do not play this part it is clear that one should not overestimate the semantic capacity of these lyrics to carry a theme, or to provide verbal dimensions for the message in the dancè movement in any detailed way. As already mentioned, the theme of fighting in the songs and the dances will be seen as having a different significance.[25]

Dance cognoscenti in Yogyakarta treat the story as the least important thing, something contingent, an afterthought added to provide interest for those who lack the sensibility to appreciate the movements, music and so forth for what they are. It is clear that in general we should agree with Holt: the names for the movements are "merely descriptive" (1937:846), not pointing, although the Golek is an

exception, as are the fights. Local comments illustrate this. An informant reported on a group of musicians who work for practices of a tourist-sponsored organisation who were discussing movements after a dance, in particular one for hands where the left hand turned and the right held a ngithing; someone asked what the movement meant, and the head of the organisation said in Indonesian that it meant the desire to seek 'certainty', 'truth', 'right', 'actuality' (kĕbĕnaran B.I./Jav.) and 'beauty' (keindahan, B.I.). Other comments did suggest there is a notion of loss in the meaning of movements, but as in the regional variations of forms in India , it is perhaps more useful to see what there is and how it operates, instead of simply saying there is degeneration from a once whole code. This seems unlikely, although one informant suggested that when the Islamic followers gained influence, dance was only allowed on condition that the movements were purged of their previous religious significance. There might well have been books of dance theory which were burned.' However, surviving manuscripts do not give much indication that the forms were Indian-like.[26]

A system which is semiotic and conventionally coded appears to be restricted to iconographic areas, as will be shown below. Most Bĕdhaya and Srimpi are named for their musical accompaniment, with a few exceptions already noted. Thus, Bĕdhaya Sĕmang is called after Gĕndhing Sĕmang, Srimpi Sinom after Gĕndhing Sinom, etc. A modern Bĕdhaya featuring a conflict between the Pandhawa Pandu and his rival Narasoma for the hand of Kunthi, princess of Mandura, is accompanied by Gĕndhing Ngambararum and in performance was referred to as Bĕdhaya Ngambararum, although some mentioned it as Bĕdhaya Pandu-Narasoma: which is a style used to name Bĕksan duels, with the exception of the

set piece Bĕksan, such as Lawung and Etheng. It is virtually impossible from manuscript sources to know which stories would have been performed with which Gĕndhing, unless the kandha introductions are still extant in manuscript form. Wayang Wong, of course, are named after the plots or actions (lakon, from mlaku, 'to walk', 'to act').

It might be observed here that if 'dance' is problematic because there is no general equivalent in Javanese, and bĕksa is best treated as 'dance movement' as actualisation, then lakon might be understood as expressing the same separability in relation to the word 'drama': if lakon derives from mlaku, walk, action, and drama from the Greek δράν, 'to do', a similar principle seems to be underlying the terms, in spite of Rassers' giving of gawe/dhamĕl for δρᾶν (1982), which might be more accurately glossed as 'work'.

Before considering the semiotic dimensions of the palace dance in Yogyakarta, it is useful to draw together some threads concerning the capacity of movements, as implied in the way they are named and so classed, to refer.

Action names refer to actions literally or technically, and cross-cut other technical systems homonymically, as in the case of ĕmbat (see above). Names of sequences which have natural references to the action of an object, plant, or animal, are names which seem self-referential, are named at the most for how they look, and serve to provide variational contrast with movements of another variety, movements named with mimetic implications (self-adorning); this category is subject to variation, ornamental in Bĕdhaya, Srimpi and Bĕksan, with the most extreme case of mimesis occurring in the Golek, although

not autonomously, knowledge of the theme being implicit in the form's solo performer: fighting will be shelved for now.

There will be cause to return to some of these terms in an examination of how significance may accrue by the loosening of necessary sense links between systems and sounds (the theme of 'the pun'), significance becoming contingent, not necessary, but no less valid for that.

It has already been observed that the Indian Patāka'flag' gesture does not refer to 'flag' but has other references. Equally, in Chinese dance, a sleeve gesture meaning helplessness is used not to refer to that state, but to give a sign that the song is about to end (Strauss, 'The Art of Sleeve in Chinese Dance', cited in Royce 1977:209). Royce comments that gestures which embroider the narrative should be distinguished from ones which carry the narrative, and she notes that Indian "mudrās" not only serve as gestures for nouns (rivers, flowers, snakes, etc.), but also have many that act as verbs or modifiers (1977:195). It is interesting to note here that in Yogyakartan palace dancing, the last movement made before the dancers sit and arrange their sashes before the closing salute is a movement called 'flying' (nglayang); the fanciful see this as the nymphs departing back to heaven, but it is more likely that nglayang, like the shiu hsiu sleeve movement for helplessness, has come to be a signal for ending.

Names may also have a mnemonic function (see also Chapter V), and help to keep the contour of the movement in sharper focus in the memory: the movements of the female dance mode have the habit of merging for the beginner. The dance names then may be understood in this sense as providing clues to sequences, to what comes next, particularly in

the case of image-evoking names. Boundaries and measures are thus imposed on what in effect and as far as the audience is concerned resembles 'flowing water', but which, unchecked by names, might flow out of the dancer's memory, and also out of the ken of the choreographic structure.

iii) Bĕksa as Mode

It has been argued that there are limitations in attempting to find significance in dance in its sequential structures or in its named units, and that in general, flexibility and fluidity are valued both in the dance and in the way it is talked and thought about, rather than fixed categories. However, there is one area where conventional codes do play a part, and which requires us to look across the dance modes, away from Putri alone, and to see how costume and make-up work in a system of signs which establishes patterns of characterisation. As Wayang Wong makes most comprehensive use of characterisation, it will be the main example in this section. The English word 'mode' is being used here rather than 'style', as this last is reserved for practices in other places in Yogyakarta apart from the Kasultanan palace, and outside Yogyakarta, as for example, 'Surakartan style'.

It is common knowledge in Yogyakarta that Wayang Wong is modelled on the shadow play, although the precise relation of these two forms is debatable, given the different social identifications people make. In general it was maintained that the shadow play was of the village, while the Wayang Wong belonged to the palace (thus the town); the professional bureaucracy (priyayi) of the early twentieth century was granted ballroom dancing, something which successors, the upwardly

mobile white-collar workers have inherited, along with the movies, keep-fit, and other Western imports.

The relation between dance in Wayang Wong and the shadow play is made clearer in the classification of male modes made by a dance expert in Yogyakarta. These modes rely on role models which derive from the shadow play, built up from costume, make-up, voice style (antawacana), dance mode, and physique (dĕdĕg, though this means more than 'body', see Chapter VII). The relation of a character to the puppet counterpart is more successful in some characters than in others. One might also note that in the puppet cast, each character may have a number of different faces or moods (wanda), each one requiring a different puppet figures; for example, the heroic Bima is black-faced for battle but gold-faced for court scenes.[27]

The simplest way to present the male modes and their relation to characterisation and to show how Javanese make classifications is to draw on published materials by Prince Suryobrongto (1981:83ff)(Table 2). This table shows the way in which the dance mode is linked to role or type, and the manner in which dance bĕksa movement sequences, including one of the mimetic class, 'brushing moustache' (usap rawis), may be used to signal a particular dance mode:[28] the moustache itself is a sign of egotism (pamrih). The prince was famous during the reign of his father HBVIII as a dancer of Gathotkaca, heroic son of the Pandhawa Bima. His approach also partakes of the educative and moralistic ethos of the dance practice in the palace at that time. However, his education also took him to Holland, so he is 'typical' - paradoxically - by reason of being exposed to non-Javanese influences: an important feature of Javanese culture. Also worth noting is the exclusion of

reference to the masked play (topeng) from this classification (excluded from the palace, as noted, with the exception of masks for the demonic figures, buta), or dances done unmasked (Klana).

KBW confusingly introduced the idea of basic or characteristic dance mode (joged pokok: notice the democratic KBW style in abandoning 'bĕksa' here), and this notion was taken up in the palace system: the main modes are in upper case, with their specifications in lower case.[29] The second column indicates the associations of type with some named characters. Movements which serve as indicators of a dance mode specification are explained briefly, and Suryobrongto's own allusions of shadow-play terminology for roles are also given briefly. The three final items, marked with asterisks are given for the sake of completion as 'additional' dance modes, although they are less commonly encountered, and not included by Suryobrongto, but are noted in a study of dance training methods (Koentjaraningrat 1959:10). In addition to these male modes, there is also the female mode, with the three character variations available, noted above. The variations are determined not by movement so much as by inner criteria; some informants explained female variation in terms of voice (for other criteria, see Chapter VII), although criteria for characters such as Sinta in modern classical choreography noted above should not be forgotten.

It may be seen that the classification of dance modes, especially bearing in mind the ramifications, is hardly what is required by taxonomies in the West. Indeed, this has important implications for anthropology, which will be discussed in Chapter IV. For contrast a related taxonomy, but using Surakartan terminology, and the KBW system,

TABLE 2 : Male Dance Modes in the Yogyakartan Palace Style

Dance Mode		
1. A(i) IMPUR	alus, unfussy, reliable, confident roles (Arjuna, Laksmana, Panji, Damarwulan)	impur: 'crooked legs'
2. A(ii) Impur Ukĕl Asta	humble gods (Wisnu, Kamajaya)	ukĕl: twisting; asta: hand
3. A(iii) Impur Ukĕl Asta Ĕncot	gentle gods (Guru)	ĕncot: flexing foot rise
4. A(iv) Kagok Kinantang	more dynamic impur roles (Prabu Salya, Rĕshi Bhisma)	= alusan in shadow play
5. A(v) Kagok Kinantang Usap Rawis	alus but dynamic gods (Indra)	usap rawis: stroke moustache
6. B(i) KAMBĔNG	strong (gagah) honest, plain, unfussy roles (strong and dynamic) (Bima, Gathotkaca)	= gagah luguhan in shadow play
7. B(ii) Kambĕng Usap Rawis	strong but calm gods (Bayu)	see 5
8. B(iii) Kambĕng Dhĕngklik	strong calm monkeys (Hanoman)	dhĕngklik: a movement of the torso from above the waist[1]
9. C(i) Kalang Kinantang	alus strong roles (Baladewa, Sĕtyaki)	= gagah kongas in shadow play
10. (Cii) Kalang Kinantang Usap Rawis	strong dynamic gods (Brahma, Sambu, Basuki)	see 5
11. C(iii) Kalang Kinantang Dĕngklik	strong dynamic monkeys (Sugriwa, Anggada)	see 8
12. C(iv) Kagok Impur	(strong and alus) (Suyudana, Udawa)	see 6 for contrast
13. D(i) BAPANG	strong, capricious, wilful, proud roles (Dursasana, Bureswara)	'to stretch both arms out sideways'; also name of old topeng (mask) role
14. D(ii) Bapang Ukĕl Asta	(Narada) (strong dynamic ogres) (with black teeth?)	see 2
15. D(iii) Bapang Sĕkar Suhun Dhĕngklik	ogre kings, strong and kasar (Niwatakawaca Kumbakarna)	see 8. Sĕkar suhun is a dance bĕksa
16. D(iv) Bapang Dhĕngklik Kĕplok Asta	strong kasar ogres (Pragalbo)	see 8. Kĕplok asta is a dance movement using arms
17. D(v) Bapang Dhĕngklik Kĕplok Asta Usap Rawis	ogres, jinns	see 5, 8, 16
18. D(vi) Bapang Kĕntrog	strong kasar Bugis soldiers in the original Bĕksan Lawung	
19. LEMBEHAN KĔNTRIG	apprentices, meditators, children	
20. MĔRAK NGIGEL	servants, punakawans (attendants/clowns)	= 'dancing peacock'[2]
21. Cantrik*	common people, hermits' pupils, farmers, horsemen	
22. Joged Manuk*	griffins (garudha)	
23. Joged Setanan*	comical ghosts/spirits/demons	

1. "Strong body bounces" (Soedarsono 1984:228)
2. From movement in the shadow play (1984:223)

is offered (Hood 1963:461-2):

1.	Halus male:	Kalang Kinantang	dewa (gods) lugu (plain)
		Impur	dewa lugu
2.	Gagah male:	Kalang Kinantang	dewa/lugu/raja (king)/ kěthek (monkey Impur/Kambĕng/Bapang/ panakawan (attendant) buronwona (animals of the forest)
3.	Halus female:	Bĕdhaya-Srimpi The role of Arjuna (see Footnote 30)	

While it is clear that semiotic systematicity in syntactical and semantic dimensions of dance movement, bĕksa, does not confirm expectations such as expressed in Elam (above), and that a coherent system of signs and identifications is not bĕksa per se, there is a semiotic dimension to the typology defined in terms of costume, make-up, and the dance mode considered appropriate to each type. Whether or not the modes express the type will remain to be discussed later on (Chapter VII). It is possible that this could be seen as a table of fairly organised exemplifications (see Chapter IV).

If there was no neat hierarchy of structures in the way that dance movements themselves are talked about technically, a similar lack of homogeneity in the typology used in the structuring of the modes may also be noted. For example, Kagok Kinantang (4), Kagok Kinantang Usap Rawis (5), Kambĕng Usap Rawis (7), and Kalang Kinantang Usap Rawis (10), in particular the latter, demonstrate less an oppositional and exclusive contrast than a continuum effected by overlaying similarities which are combined with different elements,

as will be described below. This feature is more evident in Suryobrongto's classification than in Hood's, this last tending to hypostatise types and exclude the transformations by means of minutiae: e.g., the use of the stroking moustache movement (usap rawis), which have the effect of breaking down absolute boundaries (and thus classifications) which have been set up by the fact of making a classification in the first place.

Before explaining more about the effect of the different modes, certain structuring details should also be attended to.

Both classifications show two limits of transformation, those of the alus and kasar types. The positing of an opposition between these two terms is a recurrent feature of Javanese ethnography, popularised by Geertz who glosses alus as "pure, refined, polished, exquisite, ethereal, subtle, civilised, smooth", and kasar as "impolite, rough, uncivilised" (1960:232). The implications of the oppositions are elaborated further by the introduction of the notion of absolute order to alus, and contingency to that of kasar (1960:277). This second perspective suggests that it might be more appropriate to emphasise the relational rather than the oppositional character of what the two terms do in Javanese discourse, and consider them also in relation to other sets of terms. Indeed, Geertz himself has lately both softened and broadened his tactics regarding alus and kasar (1983:211).

One important factor concerning these two terms in the field of palace dancing in Yogyakarta must be stressed here, however. There is no beksa which is kasar[30]. Sometimes 'alusan' is used as a shorthand term for Putri and Impur modes, when strictly speaking it

is reserved for the type in the shadow play represented in dance by Kalang Kinantang mode.

Dance and kasar are thus mutually exclusive in the palace practice in Yogyakarta, at least in the view of one person with whom dialogue along these lines was possible. Problems arise firstly due to the part played by animal roles in the dance-drama, and secondly by types who are ascriptively kasar in the classification above, such as giant kings, giants, ogres, and the Buginese soldiers; these last, however, were not discussed, as they do not feature in Wayang Wong. These objections were dealt with simply. With the exception of monkeys, and also griffins (garudha), animals such as tigers in the Wayang Wong who wear tiger suits and masks, are not dancing: they are acting. Tigers come in leaping and bounding and roaring, mimicking natural tiger movements. Some informants had spoken of a famed tiger-player who had consulted a healer-magician (dukun) about how best to be a tiger, and people who had seen him swore that as a result of meditation and ascetic practices, he had taken on the strength and ferocity of a tiger. My main informant said this might have been the case, but that the man was not dancing but acting (see Chapter VII).

Monkeys are not represented naturalistically in Yogyakarta but through a mode which refers to monkey-movements, a costume (including a tail), and maska. In Surakarta dance, monkeys have a kasar mode, they scratch and behave naturalistically. In Yogyakarta monkeys are dignified and humanised, regardless of whether they associate with the winning side or not: they are described as sigra (lively; linca B.I.); "here in Yogya kasar but alus". Ogre figures may be seen as having kasar traits, indicated in the physique and physiognomy

(largeness of nose, roundness of eye, redness of face), but they are not just kasar: one ogre king, Niwatakawaca, finally defeated by Arjuna in the Arjunawiwāha (Arjuna's Wedding; see Moens-Zorab, n.d.; Zoetmulder 1974:234-7), must also have the dignity of a king, and as such is not classifiable as kasar because he has other qualities as well. As Prince Suryobrongto put it, Niwatakawaca is "wild but also noble, not just kasar" (galak tapi anggun, tidak kasar saja B.I.). Gathotkaca likewise is half arrogant, half alus ("very difficult to do!"). The Bapang mode also includes arrogance (kongas), not just kasar qualities. In reply to a question about whether alus and kasar may be understood as opposites, Prince Suryobrongto said, "No, there is just a nuance" (tidak: ada 'nuance' saja B.I.). Later it will become clear that kasar is usually avoided in reference to people.

Preconditions which satisfy the criteria for a thing to be alus are also presupposed for the dance, in so far as it is alus by not being kasar. Here alus and kasar take on the sense of natural and unnatural respectively. The remarks about animals support this, as does the placement of the types in the shadow play and Wayang Wong. Alus ascribed types are found in palaces and other social enclaves, while the ogres come from the forest, typically, if not exclusively; ogre kinds live in palaces as befit kings. Important incursions into the forest by the palace-type Arjuna, attended by the mediating punakawan figures serve to challenge further any essentialist interpretation of alus and kasar and how Javanese evaluations are presented, but must be reserved for Chapter VII.

The Wayang Wong might be considered the most 'readable' form, structured as it is around the play of difference and similarity. While there may, as suggested, be a sense that the palace practice and the aesthetic ideal both tend to aspire to a muting and diffusion of irregular difference (in form and in behaviour), Wayang Wong contradicts this expectation, as does conflict in fights in other dance forms; it is as if the muting of difference in daily matters is ruptured by the emergence of the implications of showing difference, in costume and dance mode. There is an ambivalence, then, in how people discuss Wayang Wong, and in their need to assert the unnatural, alus, nature of dance itself may be seen as symptomatic of a discourse of stability at a broader level. In Wayang Wong, visual indices or indexical functions (Elam 1980:28) become accessible to analysis.

The stage of Wayang Wong, a long rectangle to repeat the kĕlir (screen) of the shadow-play, at any one time contains ranges of types: gods, kings, queens, officials, ambassadors, heroes, soldiers, attendants, monkeys, ogres, demons. It seems that in today's fragments, there do not occur the opposing camps to the extent they used to (Groneman 1888:Plates IX-XIII), and contrast is only maximised, in terms of mode, in the sequence of fights which brings today's fragments to a conclusion. The range of movement on the stage at any one time still exceeds that possible on the shadow screen, where only two figures can move vigorously simultaneously, sometimes three, if only slight movements are involved. After all, the puppeteer only has two hands. The music and role portrayal in Wayang Wong is closer to the shadow play than are the modes. The importance of the dance sashes alone in the movement system and as one element in distinguishing

modes (see below) is not part of the shadow play; only the punakawans. three followers or classificatory sons of Sĕmar, Pĕtruk, Gareng, and Bagong, sometimes carry kerchiefs in their dancing scenes.

In so far as it adds to the system of signs which have come to exemplify a role, dance movement has an enhancing function in the semiotic system, as does the musical accompaniment, but it would be misleading to say that its function is solely enhancing (see Chapter VII). The dramatic effect in Wayang Wong resides not in the expression of psychological conflict, but in the variety and play of difference on the stage visually, and in the fights, behaviourally.

Visually, the contrast may be between a finely drawn figure, slight of frame, for example Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, or Rama (Illustrations, 60, 61, 7) painted yellow, in delicately patterned clothes, jewellery, with eyes downcast (except in fights), who using Impur will traverse space in a maximally uneconomic fashion, legs wide, but feet close to the floor, the shift of weight from one leg to the other as protracted as possible, in what has been called an assymetrical relation to the general direction of the body (Soedarsono et al., 1978). Impur, in fact, means 'crooked legs', 'bowlegged', 'knock-kneed'; and Kinantang, which for example, Sĕtyaki, the military supporter of the Pandhawas, will use, with a similar sash action to Impur, flicked or held out from the waist. However, the performer will be brawnier, with more accented eyebrows and a higher facial colour, with an assymetrical dynamic to his movements, a similar use of sash, as said, but with a contrasting leg action, the leg being lifted straight from the floor, extended for a moment, bent in from the knee, held, and then planted on the ground once more. Kambĕng will

employ this leg action, but with more simple unitary weight shifts, more 'symmetrical', and the arm movements will be more rigid, the left hand held in ngĕpel, the right holding a sash hanging round the neck; this will be used by the strong Pandhawas, such as Bima (Illustration 62) and his son, Gathotkaca, and Antarĕja, who flies and does not have the second sash loose round the neck. Bapang would be used by the ogres in the case of Bapang Dhĕngklik Kĕplok Asta, bumbling and energetic, in long woollen socks and a mask. A textural (and textual) variation will be established by dance modes with reference to legs and sashes alone. Then there are the musical variations, for example the relentless single-tone gangsaran, climax to a long build-up called enjeran where the rivals suss each other out and brag of their superior strength, or simply define their presence, and standing.

How, one might ask, does the play of sameness and difference work in the other dance forms?

Modes here are homogeneous, with two exceptions: Bĕksan (fighting duets) for males, where the convention of mixed-mode conflict derives from Wayang Wong; and Bĕksan which are set pieces, such as Lawung and Etheng. Both of these require different military ranks, each with their own mode; and in the case of Lawung, the dance is a series of lance-fights up the ranks: first the jajar using Bapang, then the lurah, using Kalang Kinantang (Surjodiningrat 1970:29). Here the convention of fights being done between matched equals is kept to, and mode might possibly have developed from a recognition of physical types in a contest, and may also be related to the science of reading physical traits in order to determine appropriate action, today largely restricted to physiognomical characteristics.[31]

Female forms emphasise sameness and have only one mode, i.e., Putri. It has also been shown that female dance movement is not susceptible to semiotic analysis. Indeed, Bĕdhaya and Srimpi are characterised as being 'abstract and symbolic' (abstrak dan simbolis B.I.: we shall have reason to query this translation later). Semiotic capacity resides in difference, and in Bĕdhaya in particular, this is ideologically minimalised, the principle of similarity being used to motivate a complex metaphysical argument (see Appendix 3).

How does this sameness in Putri work? Reference will be chiefly to the Bĕdhaya, and it is hoped that remaining threads will be tied up in these remarks, as elements are dealt with hitherto neglected.

Bĕdhaya, as said, is usually given as the most extreme case of abstraction, and denied simple reference to purely mimetic or narrational capacities. It is also regarded as the most traditional (and thus accorded the status of palace heirloom); it is possible that the relation between this and homogeneity may not be coincidental.

Numerical variation in Bĕdhaya forms have already been mentioned, with nine being unique to Bĕdhaya, if not the only condition for a state of Bĕdhaya to occur (see Chapter V). It is certainly the most dignified expression of the form.

That form is Bĕdhaya will be known from there being between six and nine dancers, all dressed alike (Bĕdhaya Putri Cina is an exception to this, two dancers being dressed differently from the others, at least in one performance under the present Sultan), and there will be a variety of formations, mostly assymetrical, though all the dancers will perform the same movements, except when the two protagonists, Batak and Endhel, perform standing alone, while the others kneel.

Although Batak and Endhel are seen as showing different temperaments, Batak being luruh (submissive) and Endhal branyak (aggressive), Batak more assured (sĕngguh), Endhel more fiery (grĕgĕd), they, like the other bĕdhaya, all perform the same basic movements from the female dance mode; some of these movements, such as putting on a crown (atrap cundhuk, Illustrations 53, 54) are reserved for the Bĕdhaya; others, like a rapid repeated later neck shift (jiling), are excluded, and are characteristic of Golek.

The dancers may be stressed as looking the same, but they are of varying heights, the tallest in the middle (Jangga) and the shortest at the sides (Apit and Endhel Wĕdalan), as the entrance formation for the march shows (see Table 3).

Some of these names refer to parts of the body, and indeed this opening formation is understood to represent the body, with the Apit and Endhel Wĕdalan as arms and legs. What the two protagonists, Batak and Endhel, represent is open to debate: head and heart, heart and soul, passion and ratio, the variations are manifold,[32] although what is stressed is that the two are in competition, and alternate in gaining the upper hand; opposition being alternated also with reconciliation. In the opening section of the dance, Endhel comes out of line and generates assymetrical formations, and returns to line with her helpers, the Endhel Wĕdalan. This should occur three times, but in modern performances it is cut to once (if even included). In the fight in the second part of the dance, Endhel dances the character who surrenders. Both sections end with a formation called rakit tiga, said by some to be 'perfect death', and others to be the Hindu trinity (Trimurti) of Siwa, Wisnu, and Brahma, though with no schematic link apart from there being three rows of three (Table 3[b]).

TABLE 3 : Bĕdhaya Formations

a) Opening and closing marches

front

	Apit Ngajĕng (forward flank)		Endhel Wĕdalan Ngajĕng (forward follower coming out)		
Endhel (-Pajĕg)[1] (follower)	(Pĕm-) Batak (leader)	Jangga (Pĕnggulu) (neck)		(Pĕn-) Dhadha (chest)	Buntil (bottom)[2]
	Apit Wingking (rear flank)		Endhel Wĕdalan Wingking (rear following coming out)		

back

b) Rakit tiga

Endhel	Batak	Apit Ngajĕng
Endhel Wĕdalan Ngajĕng	Jangga	Buntil
Apit Wingking	Dhadha	Endhel Wĕdalan Wingking

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1. Endhel (-Pajĕg) leads the entrance and is the last dancer to leave the stage.
2. Buntil is "the sex organ", according to Soedarsono 1984:80.

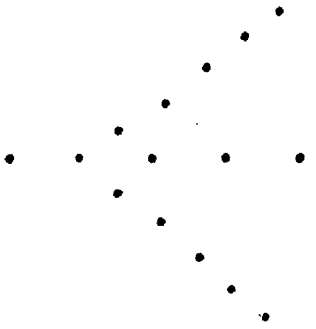
Apart from formations carrying significations of this kind, the elaborate arrangements of characters on the stage in Wayang Wong in the fighting scenes often reduplicate conventional formations used in military strategies in traditional Javanese warfare (Table 4). The fact that in Bĕdhaya the dancers rise again after this rakit tiga and exit is seen to show that it all repeats in an "eternal cycle", a comment made in tones of triumphant humour, noticed in Yogyakarta when a particularly dodgy problem of interpretation is contrived and connived at. Bĕdhaya is prone to comments like, "the fights show how life is", etc., with the temporary nature of victory illuminating the general condition of things. Rather than being in a binary structure, however, the situation once again is one where difference is posited in order to reduce the final significance, the processual flow, as in dance movement, being what is ultimately valued. This also applies to oppositions in the shadow play as we shall see in Chapter VIII.

In forms using the female mode, the more esteemed the form, the more it emphasises sameness. In Srimpi, four dancers usually dressed identically (again Srimpi Putri Cina, and Srimpi Rĕnggawati are exceptions) represent two pairs, reduplicating a single conflict (see Appendix 3 for kinds of interpretation). Srimpi is considered to be more 'dramatic' than Bĕdhaya partly because the fights are longer and more elaborate.

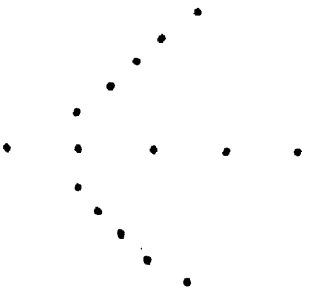
In Bĕksan dramatic force increases, and it is here that the character types in Putri mode are most fully exploited, in keeping with the close relation of Bĕksan to Wayang Wong; dialogue (pocapan) is popular these days to provide interest, with the exception of duets in the Golek Menak style, and the voices are also role indicators, the

TABLE 4 : Wayang Wong Formations[1]

a) Sapit Urang (shrimp pincers)



b) Garuda Nglayang (flying griffin)



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1. From Wibowo 1981:204

winner having the higher, 'finer', voice. In the form where the interplay of sameness and difference is lost, the Golek, associations with value become tenuous; the Golek is by no means uniformly praised as being appropriate for palace epitomisation and representation, as already noted.

iv) Conclusions

It is clear that the 'higher' a form is considered, the more inscribed it is in a system of references which are already known to the perceiver in the audience. This accords with Western understandings of the 'classical'. Elements are not immediately accessible, but require maximal mediation through training and habit. This is clear in the case of character recognition in the Javanese Wayang Wong - which is the only form which enacts the story it refers to, and in some features of the Bĕdhaya. When experts write that the meaning of dance gestures will become clear when one knows them, they mean not that the lexicon will be revealed, but that foundations for appreciation will be established and sensitised. These grounds are somewhat inaccessible from the technical perspective of performance alone, and require further ethnographic ballast before they can be fully explained.

This does, however, raise a point concerning the appropriateness of a semiological project. For instance, if we consider the contrast made between fights, the female being abstract, the male dramatic, what could be said is that in the female mode, fighting is another kind of action ('symbolic') being conducted in secret. The 'simbolik' value of female dance is really visible only to those who already know. This may stand in contrast to ideas of performance and

dance in the West. Or is it? Can we actually appreciate the play Hamlet if we do not already know the written text? Is the semiotic capacity of the dramatic form autonomous and replete, or only accessible within a much more interrelated system of co-ordinates which allow a presentation to re-present in a kind of inter-textuality? Westerners may find it odd to see Javanese finding endless plots in the Mahābhārata, and wonder how they can enjoy it if they 'know the ending'. However, the way the Mahābhārata is used in shadow play and Wayang Wong, is not concerned with ends. Semiologists may agree that there can be no single interpretation, some may argue that interpretation is beside the point anyway (Sontag 1967). However, the point which should be stressed here is that in so far as such systems are available as 'signs', and can be 'read' as 'texts' to reveal stories, this is only a matter of the limits of epistemic boundaries, and little to do with essentialist notions of sense. The selection of a story, and then its highly variable relation to how it is re-enacted or re-presented suggests that the Javanese tend to the bricolage strategy of construction, father than the engineering variety (Lévi-Strauss 1976) which arose in the Aegean. The capacity to play with signs, to randomise them, even within a field of multi-determined factors of appropriateness, is surely clearly demonstrated by the Javanese case, and even more suggests that bricolage is descriptive not of the 'untamed thought' so much as the use and abuse of signs.

The argument of the chapter has shown that the word used to gloss 'dance', bĕksa, is used in specific ways to describe different aspects of movement and assemblage of forms: it denotes forms, modes, sequences, and units; as such, it might be misleading to attempt to

posit any generality about 'dance' or 'theatre' in the case in hand even, never mind 'Java', or worse, Indonesia, or worse still, 'The East'. Semantic and syntactical methodologies may assist analysis, but they fail to allow for indigenous orderings which entail significances and sense which, if included as they have been here, do not necessarily endorse theoretical coherence in results. They do, however, help to avoid problems of methodological reductionism, and it has been here suggested that to see the different aspects of dance as instances of something, with bĕksa as the moment of actualisation, may overcome problems which arise from essentialising dance as a category. As for semiological concepts such as sign and index, they may be useful for 'dance' in a broad sense, but are less effective in dealing with complexities of movement classed within modes. One could also argue that it is quite inappropriate to speak of 'reading' a performance when, as already stated, the event is not strictly a visual one: talking, eating, coughing, and moving about during performance may be deplored in Western circles where attention and concentration are demanded,[33] but they are part of what happens in Yogyakartan ones.

Sense, then, resides in different elements in different ways, even within the restrictions imposed upon material presented above which concentrates on the performance events and technicalities. As will be clear later, the palace part of 'palace dance' is equally important for providing boundaries and determining appropriate sense attributions and proportions; or, to provide conventions which highlight presuppositions and therefore expectations or levels of appreciation, which may well go beyond a simple 'reading' of the performance as text. What is at stake is knowledge, its foundations and its strategies.

Before turning to the ethnography from the broader field of references, it is necessary to take stock here of the theoretical aspects of this discussion, and consider some of the implications the ethnography has raised for defining or proposing different approaches.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. These are usually considered to have first been invented by the choreographer Bagong Kussudiardjo.

2. The Surakartan term for bĕksa is wireng. According to Holt, this is Skt 'stylistics' (1937:846). Derivation from Skt wirya- 'power, strength, valour, bravery, heroism; nobility, high rank', and wiryan- 'competing in valour, showing off their valour' (Zoetmulder 1982), seems more likely.

3. Strictly speaking the verbal form is mbĕksa, but the 'm' is unsounded (Uhlenbeck 1978).

4. Cf. O.J. kaṇḍa "Base of verb forms denoting such processes as "arranging, drawing up, grouping'. Skt. khaṇḍa- conveys such meanings as 'assemblage, multitude'. Skt kāṇḍa is, in this respect too, almost synonymous: 'cluster, multitude'" (Gonda 1952:179).

5. KBW played an important role in developing training techniques based on counting as used today, and also for attempting to standardise dance (see Soerjadiningrat 1923; Pringgobroto 1959). Before this, palace trainees used to imitate their teachers (nyorekakĕn) in the first stages. The standardisation is expressed in the basic training dance, the Sari Tunggal ('single flower, flower united') which is longer than the palace dance, having more sĕndhi link passages, and lasts for 46 big gong beats (see Tedjokoesoemo 1981), and most dance organisations today have an equivalent training dance. KBW also introduced the tayungan, walking to music, to instill the basic movements and sense of rhythm. Following the sale in 1982 of the Tedjokusuman compound where KBW was based, the organisation is considered "as good as dead" in Yogyakarta.

6. Indianists might note that this is the Javanese version of the character Sikhandin in the Mahābhārata, daughter of King Drupada, who became a man by practising austere penance (Prijono 1982:81). One might also note here that it was not until after the declaration of independence that the palace followed KBW in its radical approach to gender in dance. Other moments for this emancipation include the following: 1935: the first 'mixed' fight, using bows and arrows (i.e., maintaining a physical distance): 1949: first 'mixed' fight using kĕris, in an Irama Citra production; 1950: first 'love dance', Karangseh, a dance considered 'classical but not palace'; 1952: first time a woman in Wayang Wong taking the part of Srikandhi rides on a garudha bird played by a man (personal communication, Bapak N. Supardjan).

7. During a workshop for children given at the Shaw Theatre, London, in March 1984, from ASKI Surakarta, a small boy asked this very question, reminding me of the prevalence of such assumptions.

8. See van Helsdingen Schoevers, n.d.; van Lelyveld 1931:especially p.77. We might note that mudrā is a term not found in the Nāṭyaśāstra. Grounds for similarity between Indian and Javanese forms are also discussed in Ramachandran 1958; Bosch 1960; Pott 1966; Hadimulyo 1982. For critiques of this approach, see Brakel 1976 for the case of dance, and Sears 1979 for a discussion concerning the diffusion of epics.

9. For example, when the dancer Endhel takes up a position in the line of dancers, she lifts one sash up and down (nyewer udhĕt), and on coming out of the line, she throws it off (kīpat).

10. However, in Surakarta, where the terminology is different, there are other named hand positions, such as ambaya mangap, and purnama sidi which form sangga nampa (see Soedarsono et al., 1978:3, 152, 161).

11. One senior dance teacher considered this to be a Buddhist mudrā such as might be seen on carved reliefs at Candi Plaosan, Prambanan. It may be used to show the act of meditation, as does the position sĕdaka(?), where the right hand rests on the left shoulder. Indic references were common if confused among informants. Most frequent was the association between ngruji and patāka, and ngĕpel and muṣṭi, the latter used for fighting and holding weapons in Indian dance (Bhavnani 1965:82-143). A teaching manual used in SMKI-KONRI Yogyakarta suggests that ngĕpel is 'peak'; śikhara ('love of God, no, above, below, ask') (Supartha and Supardjan 1980:Ch.IV), and gives regional variations on two hand positions in Yogyakarta:

Yogyakarta	Bali	Surakarta	Sunda
ngruji	ngruci	ngruyung (ngrayung)	meuber
ngĕpel	megemelan	ngĕpel	ngeupel

(1980:4-5); they further suggest that nyĕmpurit is 'goose', haṃsāsya (indicating 'light, pearl', etc.), and that sĕmbah is añjali (1980:15) (this position in Surakarta is called mangenjali (Soedarsono et al., 1978:114 ; in Bali, panyembrana). Van Lelyveld shares this opinion (1931:37), but for nyĕmpurit suggests the Indian kaṭakā-mukha, used for making Sivaite offerings and with associations with Bhairava (Siva's destructive form) and his consort Candikā (Durga) (1931:77-80). He also describes hand positions in the Klana dance as mudrā (1922:pls 26, 28).

Other views include the following. Ngruji is "for Brahma", or "avoiding evil"; ngĕpel means "you must be strong" with the comment that it is used by Bima and his sons; and a single conjecture was that either nyĕmpurit or ngithing might be cakra (the wheel). One dancer claimed that the dance movement atur-atur is "like bringing offerings to a temple" though others scorned the suggestion; O.J. atĕr-atĕr means 'bringing, lead' (Zoetmulder 1982). Most informants with some expertise pointed out major differences between

the hands in Indian and Javanese dance: the former, as in Bali, are tensed, while the latter, excepting ngruji, are held softly - in other words, "Javanese hands are more pleasing (luwes) than Indian hands".

It is also worth noting here that two hand positions are seen as related to one in the shadow play: ngepel is like gegeman, nyempurit like driji wanara ('monkey fingers') (Soedarsono 1984: 223-4). It is possible that this might explain a passage about the East Javanese Gambuh form, which describes how the performer "straightens himself, and with his left hand on his hip and the other hand holding the sign of the monkey he asks 'Who can say who I am without mentioning my name?'" (Drewes 1978:70, Note 3a to Text 1, citing Rassers' unpublished thesis of 1922, De Pañdji-Roman:107-8; my emphasis). We might further note that conventions today require nyempurit to be held in the right hand. Otherwise, only one female dance position, malangkerik, right hand curled in ngepel at waist, reflects a stance in the shadow play (Long 1979:61).

12. The theoretical distinctions implied in 'semantic' and 'semiotic' are convoluted; for a relatively simple account, see Ricoeur 1974: 92-4.

13. The limitations of this gloss are made clear on reading Gonda's comments: "The generic name is wirama (i.e., Skt virāma- 'pause, end of, caesura within a verse, or at the end of a sentence'); the verb ma-wirama means 'singing in time (to the accompaniment)'; a Sundanese word for 'measure, time; tune, melody, harmony', and even for 'gratifying the ear' is wirahma; in Javanese irama means 'measure' (in music; also wirama) and 'acquired habit'" (1952:109). See also Chapter VII below on this subject.

14. A detailed account of the way this wooden box is tapped in order to provide another musical texture may be found in Soedarsono 1984: 169-81.

15. Once again, Gonda is helpful: "Skt virāga- 'indifference (especially to worldly objects or externals)' has become a term for 'studied or over-carefully elegant (of one's motions or movements)'; it should be inquired into whether this word was first used in connection with dancers who had to impersonate supramundane beings etc. - it actually applies to Javanese dancing - and afterwards interpreted in a more or less depreciating way" (1952:367-8). A note from Kern (1871) is also added: "Wiraga represents O.J. pirāga 'pleasure, affection' (native prefix plus Skt rāga- 'loveliness, pleasure'", although Gonda also points out that Kern had also considered that there may have been a blending with Skt virāga (1952:369).

16. The upper body side divides into armpit (kelek), upper side (lempeng), lower side (lambung), and waist (pungggung).

17. On another occasion the three measures were stated to be of movement, density/concentration, and direction (gerak, pekak, jarak, B.I.). For the KBW formulation of dance requirements in Yogyakarta, see Soerjadiningrat's definition in Suryobrongto 1970. For contrast, the system used in Surakarta, Hasta Sawanda, comprises eight elements: pacak (style), pancat(?), lulut (harmonious), wilet (pleasing), luwes (beautiful), ulat (facial expression), irama (measure), gendhing (melody) (Pudjasworo 1982: 65ff; the glosses are mine, and approximate only).

18. KBW terminology tends to use the term joged instead of beksa.

19. Attempts to meet the first choreographer of Golek Menak dances who lived locally were long frustrated by my asking for 'Rama Wiradipradja' - locally everyone knew him as 'Pak Net' (short for Netya: a single syllable is usual for common reference and address). He had recently been promoted in the palace hierarchy, and his name had officially changed. Contemporary bureaucracy and things such as identity cards tend to make name-changing even more confusing than before, and it is possibly on the wane.

20. Whatever the relation of Indian to Javanese forms, one might note some similarity in movement names, particularly of those classed as ufli in Chau forms from Seraikala (Orissa) and Mayurbhanj, bearing in mind that these were revived or originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vatsyayan 1980). It is also important to notice the complexity of movement systems and their terminology in Indian dance and theatre. For example, the unit of classical choreography (karaṇa) is made up of position (sthāna) - of which there are six); gait (cāri - of which there are thirty-two), and hand gestures (nṛtta hasta - of which there are twenty-seven) (see Bhavnani 1965:22; Ghosh 1951; 47ff., 197ff., 213ff.). in Chau, ufli are used with other movement classes (cāli and ṭopka), combining with cāli to form bhangi (Vatsyayan 1980:69-71) in a manner reminiscent of the system in Java, which suggests that the absence of a neat taxonomy may be due to complexity and specificity rather than the absence of a system. Such traditions have more concepts to deal with dance and theatre than the West, and they are far stricter in their specificity.

    Other links between dance names and other systems might be noted: 'flower weapons' used in the Mahābhārata, which might be connected to what is said in the Nāṭyaśāstra about the use of dance-hands in fighting (Ghosh 1951:Ch.9); or flower offerings such as those made in Bali today. There is also a possibility that the structure of the Sanghyang trance dance in Bali, with its invocation ('smoking'), possession, and departure, could relate to the structure of Bedhaya, with its entrance and exit marches and central section. What prompts this notion is a hint of similarity in reference and terminology between the lyrics of Bedhaya Semang (Yogyakarta), and those of the Sanghyang (Soekawati 1925; Covarrubias 1972; de Zoete 1938). One might

also note that such a tripartite structure is also found in the Javanese possession 'game', Nini Thowong. The Sanghyang dance does use conventional movement names, but as yet these have neither been compared nor contrasted with those used in Java.

21. Kartomi 1973:190ff. notes that there is a less sophisticated musical Pĕncak danced in the region of Banyumas, Central Java, but this is not found in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. (On Pĕncak Silat, See Chapter VIII.) Bagong Kussudiardjo has created a Silat dance for six women, and an informant who was studying at ASTI choreographed his dance fight with reference to a form of Silat taught in one Yogyakartan neighbourhood, which has also inspired choreographies in local Kĕthoprak productions.

22. Surjadiningrat 1953; Groneman 1888:31-3. However, Surjadiningrat 1970:24, says that this dance is Srimpi Muncar, and that Adaninggar is Chinese, not Arabic - which seems to make more sense.

23. Apparently the reason the Sultan commissioned Golek Menak was that he found the movements of golek puppets "funny" (lucu). So he was impelled by the quality of movement (and possibly by religious and ideological considerations also).

24. Sari is often glossed as 'essence' by philologists of both India and Islamic traditions (e.g. Drewes 1969; Robson 1971), and alam as 'nature', although the Ar. is 'world' (Jones 1978). Sari alam could thus be glossed as 'the essence of nature', but as this implies particular philosophical styles, neat as it is, I prefer my more gauche version. Given the extent of synonyms available for both these words which seem fraught with scope, one could also have 'flower of the world', 'sap of creation', 'environmental semen', 'beauty of the universe', etc. Philologists might take note: the term kodrat, sometimes taken to mean nature in the Aquinian sense, has recently been glossed by a man of caution not as 'nature' but as the Greek phusis (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:11, 118).

25. Dance lyrics not only feature complex forms of wordplay, wangsalan, discussed in Chapter VI below, but also, like all vocal art in Java, include variations (cĕngkok: see Hatch 1980; Posnett 1985), which further undermine semantic interpretations of them. Having said that, the lyrics of the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, accessible in many palace manuscripts if not longer performed, are tantalising in their obscurity, taxing the most reckless of palace interpreters. While the veil of obscurity fits the ethos of this dance, one might note the military imagery, said by some to be allusions to sexual congress. As the Ladrang Endhel begins, following the eighteenth big gong beat (according to m.s. BSIB in KHP Krida Mardawa's archive), and the dancers Endhel and her helper step out of line, the lyrics read "Ĕngge ĕngge jongga lunglung. Rĕsmining prang kapuwanan. Songsong kĕsmamurantayan.

Kĕsmarantayan. Ĕngge dharpa dharpa tekang madubrongto. Lumung lumrang prabaweng sĕkar". Having checked this against the oldest extant m.s. B23 in KHP Widyabudaya Library, which is badly damaged, with some help, the following paraphrase was arrived at: "Yea, yea, the long neck/the beauty (sex) of the milky war/the welcome (umbrella) of love/yea rejoicing to the honey of love". This text reminds one of Pigeaud's conjecture of Tantric themes in the fourteenth-century court of Hayam Wuruk (1960-3, Vol.IV:327-8). However, an Islamic interpretation of the text in mystical terms is also possible. One might note, however, that the word kasmarantyan, from the root asmara, 'love, passion', needs caution: Javanese texts sometimes confuse Skt smara- 'love' and samara- 'encounter, fight' (Gonda 1952: 319). This confusion may be deliberate, in the name of literary richness.

26. It has been argued that the Hindu-Javanese festivals of Caitra and Phalguna correspond to today's Garĕbĕg (Pigeaud 1960-3). In this connection, bearing in mind remarks about Orissan Chau forms above (Footnote 20), in Seraikala such dances were done during the last three days of Caitra. This festival also included a procession and the erection of a pole by a person called jarjara (Vatsyayan 1980:70). One wonders if there is any connection with jajar in Yogyakarta,where Garĕbĕg ceremonies today are done for tourists, revived in the 1970s having stopped in 1939. Earlier accounts of these ceremonies describe processions made up of girls carrying the palace regalia, together with four attendants, and thirty-two jajar, lowest of the palace ranks, carrying lances (Groneman 1888:12). While this is purely speculative and following from Pigeaud, it might be that diffusionists would be well advised to consider other parallels, if not origins, in Orissa. The masks used in Seraikala Chau are similar to those in Sundanese dance and golek theatre.

27. For further information about characterisation and the shadow play, see Anderson 1965; Mulyono 1977; Proyek Pembinaan Kesenian n.d.: Suryobrongto 1981; Soedarsono 1984.

28. What I have called modes may be compared to the Indic gaits (gati), which is one of the four āngika techniques for the theatre (abhinaya) (Ghosh 1951:Ch.13; Vatsyayan 1980:46).

29. Although the palace has been influenced by KBW styles of classifying modes, certain differences should be noted. There are eight modes according to KBW: Ngĕncĕng Ĕncot or Nggrudha (= Putri); Impur; Kagok Kinantang; Kambĕng; Kagok Impur; Bapang; Lembeyan Kĕntrig; Mĕrak Ngigel. KBW draws a contrast between Kagok Kinantang, which it defines as alus and dynamic, and Impur; and between Kagok Kinantang, classed as gagah and alus, and Kambĕng, which is gagah and dynamic (Soedarsono et al., 1978:68, 109). These oppositions form a tight system, unlike the more serial linkages in the table.

Prince Suryobrongto uses the term joged pokok, basic movement sequence pattern, but not the other KBW terms which form a system with this: joged gubahan, which are sub-specifications, such as 'turning hand', 'brushing moustache', etc. (Soedarsono et al. 1978:67); and joged miraga, 'extra' movements (which may be subsumed to a mode).

There is sometimes confusion in the use of these KBW terms. For example, one source claims that joged gubahan is the creation of a new mode from two others: Kambĕng and Kalang Kinantang combine to make Engkrang (Supardjan 1975). Suryobrongto treats engkrang as a variant, and indeed, KBW classes it under joged miraga as 'extra' movements (Soedarsono et al. 1978:67). Van Lelyveld was much influenced by KBW classifications. Taking joged pokok, gubahan and miraga as his main categories, he also however adds two more: all war dances; and Klana dances (1931:104).

30. Two major differences in Surakarta might be noted here. Firstly, the male character of Arjuna is played by a woman. Secondly, there is dance which is considered kasar: laras bĕksa buta, for demonic figures; laras bĕksa Bugis, for soldiers of the Buginese regiment; and laras bĕksa wanara, for monkeys (Soedarsono et al. 1978:19). This is quite unlike the situation in Yogyakarta, where transvestitism traditionally is only for men playing the parts of women, and where dance and kasar are mutually exclusive. For other differences, see Prijono 1982:70-2. In connection with classifications, it is interesting to note that in Bali, there is a tripartite classification of voices in the shadow play: alus is contrasted with keras (harsh), and the third is nangis 'tearful' (Hinzler 1981:75).

31. This is known as katuranggan - or sometimes firasat - and is believed to have originated variously as a way of evaluating horses, or for matching a man to the weapon appropriate to him. Today it is used in popular almanacks towards the evaluation of women as wives, etc. See Atmodjo 1982;Tjakraningrat 1982:92ff.

32. Some examples of interpretations of Batak and Endhel may be tabulated:

Batak	Endhel	Source
the head, carrying the five senses (sirah, ingkang kanggenan Pancahendriya)	the will, wahyaning hosik, the start of intention (karĕp ingkang kawitan)	Brongtodiningrat 1982:18-20 (and see Appendix 2)
soul (roh)	ratio (akal)	Suryobrongto (personal communication)
"head with the mind or soul"	"representing desires emerging from the heart"	Soedarsono 1984:80-1

both are aspects of jiwa (spirit)

33. For two different approaches to this area, see Ward 1980 and Baudrillard 1983:119-24.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS

> Natural signs do not exist; because they are all equally conventional, or, to speak with greater exactness, historically conditioned.... Philosophy of language and philosophy of art are the same thing (Croce 1959:125, 146).

> The definition of the word 'finished' is: 'This word means finished' (Shah 1978:188).

> Down with all hypotheses that have allowed the belief in a true world (Nietzsche, cited in Baudrillard 1983:115).

> The vertiginous regressus in infinitum is perhaps applicable to all subjects. To aesthetics: such and such a verse moves us for such and such a reason, such and such a reason for such and such a reason....To the problem of knowledge: cognition is recognition, but it is necessary to have known in order to recognize, but cognition is recognition... (Borges 1972:242).

> As meanings vanish in favour of certain relationships among terms, so facts vanish in favour of certain relationships among versions (Goodman 1978:93).

Having so far concentrated more on the trees than on the wood, it is time to broach the wider theoretical implications of the argument, and in doing so frame subsequent developments. At this point just a tacit acknowledgement should be made to the problem of the relation of theory to the ethnography: there is no theory without ethnography, and vice versa.

In so far as the approach to this study is to try to steer clear of both images and presuppositions which are irrelevant or misconstrued

for the ethnography (in its incarnation as 'fact'), the object here is to consider the nature of representations and identifications. Dance is involved in the question of representations by being understood as 'art',[1] and secondly, as 'dance', may extend beyond the categorical confines of 'art' and be concerned with the identifications. It will be argued that this latter aspect should not be divorced from dance as an artistic representation, however. The broad issues of how concepts are related to practices and things has been heralded by a comment applying to one ideological view of Javanese dance forms, which posits the body as "essential prerequisite" for transcending itself (see Chapter II). While this frames the problem Indically, it is here proposed to consider the question, bearing as it does on reference and identifications, from a less committed and ethnocentric theoretical perspective, to note in Western terms what seems to be going on in one Eastern case, as far as this is possible. The discussion is also preluded with a reminder of the sour grapes attitude of Crawfurd to Javanese nominalism (Chapter III), the critical tone of which today is unfashionable, though the presuppositions persist. The argument will consider the challenge to the Aristotelian view of art as imitation, and thereby as corresponding to 'natural' objects in an essentialist relation which may be codified (for the dangers of this in dance, see Best 1978:93). This will be discussed in relation first to theories of art and representation; second to what has already been explained about Javanese dance in Yogyakarta and its significations; and third, to the boundaries and codifications which may be imposed on these significations, in other words, the identifications.

(i) Representations

If representations, and thus representational images in the arts, are not taken as mimesis of nature, copies or replicas with varying degrees of abstraction, how may they be understood?

Theorists such as Ernst Gombrich and Nelson Goodman have approached the problem by raising questions about seeing, contesting the assumption that the eye is innocent.[2] Perception, like thinking, devolves upon construction:

> All thinking is sorting, classifying, all perceiving relates to expectations and therefore to comparisons (Gombrich 1968:254),[3]

and we are invited to accept Malraux's dictum that "art is born of art, not of nature" (cited in Gombrich 1968:20). Nature, by extension, itself becomes "a product of art and discourse" (Goodman 1976:33).

Artistic representations as creations are thus not contingent solely on the unmediated perception of the world by the artistic eye, nor are their perceptions by the percipient. Artistic creations have already been represented, are mediated by other presentations in art:

> All representations are grounded in schemata which the artist learns to use. But we now see more clearly why he is so dependent on tradition. The injunction to 'copy appearances' is really meaningless unless the artist is first given something which is to be made like something else. Without making there can be no matching (1968:264).

Likewise, percipients identify images by convention; just as they learn to read, to understand perspective, etc., so they need to have knowledge in order to supplement the lack of information given by images in the work of artists such as Manet, Constable and Turner: cognition depends on recognition (1968:250).[4] The reading of

illusions is not limited to the outside world either, as the artist makes images "translucent", and:

> in teaching us to see the visible world afresh... gives us the illusion of looking into the invisible realms of the mind - if only we know, as Philostratus says, how to use our eyes (1968:329).[5]

Goodman likewise holds that perceiving artistic representations leads to seeing afresh, as his remarks on his own film illustration of his theories, "Hockey Seen: A Nightmare in Three Periods and Sudden Death" demonstrate (1984:193). However, where Gombrich sees art as the imitation of art, Goodman is more radical, and challenges the privileged space of art itself, and thus the validity of 'aesthetics':

> Nothing is intrinsically a representation. Status as representation is relation to symbol system (1976:226; see also 1984:19),

and the question needing to be asked is not "What", but "When is Art?" (1978:59ff).

How reference occurs, or what occurs, is his chief concern. Reference is defined as "a very generalised and primitive term covering all sorts of symbolisation, all cases of <u>standing</u> for" (1984:55), this use of 'symbol' is quite different from the common ones. The definition of art is put aside, as in the case of the chess game by Wittgenstein (see Best 1978:58, 79).

Resemblance is understood not as a simple relation of image to object, but as compounded of three elementary kinds of reference, which are used to develop an analysis to explain not <u>how</u> but <u>what</u> the relation is between a term (or any other sign, symbol, etc.) and the object (Goodman 1984:5). In other words, Goodman is interested in:

> A symbol system [which] consists of a symbol scheme correlated with a field of reference (1976:143).

The three references used are denotation, exemplification, and expression. Let us consider denotation first, as the other terms incur various implications for how identifications relate to representations, developed below.

Denotations of various kinds make up resemblance; the kind of denotation most discussed, though not exclusively, is pictorial denotation, distinguished from other kinds by its semantic and syntactical density, its symbols varying as 'iconic' or representational depending on custom and culture (1984:57). Denotation is defined as:

> The application of a word or picture or other label to one or many things...to denote is to refer, but not, however, necessarily to refer to anything (1984:55; also 1976:52);

thus,

> a picture never merely represents x, but rather represents x as a man or represents x to be a mountain, or represents the fact that x is a melon (1976:9),

which set up criteria which may help to talk about a picture of a unicorn, for example, or a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, both cases where the varieties of denotation and their relationship to the other two non-denotational forms of reference (1984:92), may be demonstrated.[6]

Expression may thus be understood as possession of properties or labels, but what these are depends on what predicates denote. For example, a picture may be sad and grey, but what is denoted is the predicate "grey" (not "greyness"), and what is possessed is the sadness (1976:50-2). The relation between representation as "a matter of

denotation" and exemplification as "somehow a matter of possession" (1976:52) involves a difference "in direction as well as (or rather than) in domain". Thus, while possession itself is "not a form of reference" (1976:66), this need not exclude reference from expression:

> If a expresses b, then (1) a possesses or is denoted by b; (2) this possession or denotation is metaphorical; (3) a refers to b (1976:95),

the possession of properties here being qualified by the third term, exemplification. The relational fashion in which these three terms are used should not lead to their hypostatisation as "absolute, universal or immutable" (1976:50);[7] nor should the images which they create be understood as unified and total worlds (see below).

(ii) Identifications

What does this suggest for the way in which identifications may be understood?

It should be reiterated that the perception of something as art may be (a) a learned cognition pattern, (b) which may be variable (Gombrich and Goodman respectively: on expression see below Goodman 1976:89; on symbol 1978:68).

It might also be noted that objects and actions in Yogyakartan palace dance may be identified with values rather than with 'natural' objects.[8] The conventionally determined nature of performance might be noted in the contrast between verisimilitude:

> The mask which conceals the text's own laws and which we are supposed to take for a reflection of reality (Todorov cited in Elam 1980:92),

and Brecht's 'alienation effect', illustrated with reference to the Chinese opera where actors are seen to observe their own movements,

and thus break down the illusion that the audience may have of something happening independent of their perceiving presence (Brecht 1964:139ff; Elam 1980:76). Elam also uses Eco's concept of 'overcoding' (contrasted with 'undercoding', for instance in plays by Samuel Beckett), illustrated by Noh and Kabuki forms, "regulated by inviolable laws which originally overcoded a long-defunct chivalric behaviour" (1980:53-5). This used of coding seems somewhat rash in view of referential relations in Goodman, particularly when one notes also that kinesics is treated as a 'sub-code' (Elam 1980:69).

Somewhat surprisingly, Elam persists in characterising the dramatic world as counterfactual and hypothetical, inappropriate perhaps in the light of his semiological constructivism, but speaking ultimately of the Aristotelian presuppositions of his theory (see Chapter VII for further problems).

Goodman, as shown, stresses not a hierarchy of reference but a system of layers and intersections which denies any simple demarcation between factual and counterfactual (for a clear picture, see Goodman 1984:79, Fig.3). This denial is based very much on the premise that the purity of the symbol is unlikely: "The purely abstract is without symbols, any form of representation is by symbols" (1978:58). At some level or another in the referential hierarchy, there will be some reference or another. The kind of reference and what this means for the comprehending of symbols is normally blanketed as 'allusion' or 'evocation' in other approaches (1984:67-8). Apart from referentiality occurring at some point along a chain of "layers" (removes), there is also the possibility of a displacement by means of metaphor.[9]

This notion of the unlikelihood of purity of a symbol has repercussions for how dance movement may be understood. As seen, there are serious problems of oversimplification when it comes to making correspondences between gestures or movements and phenomenally extraneous objects, even when the name of such a gesture or movement might suggest that such a relation be expected. For instance, dance movements discussed under categories two and six in Chapter III are self-referential labels, in which homonymic repetition in other fields (see below also) is muted should they be known, which is not always the case. These names and movements are thus semantically neutral, labels exemplifying only themselves.[10] Categories which have more apparent mimetic links with actions existing independently of dance (if one can say that) are subject to varying degress of referentiality: thus, the self-adorning movements may be mimetic in the Golek form, but self-exemplifying in the others, which the Javanese will express in terms of "abstraction" or "for beauty". The degree of remove from denotation will also vary according to the perceiving interpreter. Thus, for some, the opening sĕmbah (salutation) will be denotational (if it is understood as made to God), or exemplificatory, formal and decorative.

It may also be that the vocabulary which evolves along with and bears reference to a system with denotational elements, such as the salutation, may have come to have a different kind of reference, i.e., an exemplificatory one. This suggests three things. First, that dance and theatre theoreticians might be less sanguine in their anticipation of replete sense (see Elam and Royce, Ch.III, Section (ii)[b]);

second, that the idea of applying concepts such as the Indian 'pure' (nṛtta) and 'mimetic' (nāṭya) to Javanese dance in Yogyakarta (see Holt and Cuisinier, Ch.III, Section (ii)[b]), might not be very useful in terms of the above discussion, as something may be free of denotational reference but still exemplify or express in a referential manner, and thus carry or establish identifications; and third, bearing in mind the specificity of movement classes and forms, that simple coherence or uni-dimensional sense or reference might be irrelevant to the case.

A further point bears also on the broadest reach of reference via the body to other experiential areas of cultural association, which will be taken up below. For now a qualification from Goodman might be acknowledged, in which he contrasts his project with that of Frege, who understands a term to denote what it does because of its sense, whereas he would argue that the question is why the denotation has the sense it has "other than being so used" (1978:87). Contrary to Ricoeur, who defines reference as "what is intended by discourse; and is irreducible to what is signified" (1977:216), Goodman argues that intention in reference as explained by speech-act theory (by Kjørup) is not performable exclusively by human beings, and that reference may be equally unintended as intended:

> Of course a mark or a painting becomes a symbol, as a piece of wood becomes a railroad tie, through actual or intended use, whether by people, other animals, or machines,

with the note:

> To grant that a word's reference may depend on its use does not of itself require that use be by humans or that the use be intended rather than accidental (1984:88);

an opinion he claims is in line with that of speech-act theorist John Searle (1984:88-9). In this sense, then, the constructed, convention-determined notion of perception should be seen as resulting from conditions rather than conscious awareness. I shall return to this argument presently.

(iii) Style and Expression

Before proceeding to a discussion of interpretation and interpretability, certain points should be raised.

The rupturing of the aesthetic space should be recalled: a distinction between 'art' and 'science' is broken down, the only difference being a question of the

> domination of certain specific characteristics of symbols....Truth and its aesthetic counterpart amount to appropriateness under different names (Goodman 1976:264).[11]

The aesthetic symbols are attributed five symptoms: semantic and syntactic density; relative repleteness; exemplification; multiple and complex reference ("where a symbol performs several integrated and interacting functions, some direct and some mediated through other symbols" [1978:68]).[12]

This obtains for the Javanese case in hand where the importance of appropriateness as both determining and structuring value has often been misconstrued by Western observers as 'aesthetic', 'mystical', 'non-instrumental and symbolic', etc. (see Chapter I). The above theory, while I do not subscribe to it without reservations, is offered as a nominalist alternative to the usual classifying tendencies in ethnography, which often result in simplistic uni-dimensional

polarities and binary schemes which become hypostatised (e.g., Lind 1975; Headley 1979).[13] Aesthetics, with its "certain characteristics" (which one may note, tend to merge as Goodman's work progresses), is as much implicated in a system of thought where

> the world is as many ways as can be truly described, seen, pictured etc. and that there is no such thing as <u>the</u> way the world is (1976:6, n.4).[14]

Truth, however, is also volatile,

> often inapplicable...seldom sufficient, and sometimes gives way to competing criteria... some truths are trivial, irrelevant, untelligible, or redundant; too broad, too narrow, too boring, too bizarre, too complicated; or taken from some other version than the one in question (1978:107, 120-1).

One of the ideas running through this study will be that of the image of Java which has emerged from/in ethnography and which is now operating in a system of feedback to indigenous self-images is itself one of the cases of the last instance of misplaced 'truth', and that a looser application of 'labels' and their possible (temporary) presence or absence is a more appropriate approach in view of the ethnography than an essentialising one which smudges the applicability to particular cases to generalisability, repeatability, and comparability. Again, it is repeated that appropriateness, in both practice (ethnographically speaking) and theory is vital.

It was suggested above (Chapter III, Section [i]) that dance is a stylisation of "everyday movements". This could be rephrased to it being a sample of other movements, at several removes from them, and the idealisations made about them, given the appropriate situations: there is a difference between polite behaviour and pretentious behaviour which in Java is determined by when, not what (see Chapter V).

The referential relation is thus prospective or projective, the sample here representing a relation of exemplification which indicates aspiration rather than regularly manifested action. Just as symbols may go into suspension, so too may identifications, becoming removed from the exigencies of the moment (see Chapter V).[15]

A point is necessary here about expression. How this operates is clearly affected by the breach of aesthetic space, already noted. Langer worked extensively to establish a theory for how art, including dance, expresses; "gesture", she suggested, "does not complete the feeling but denotes it" (1978:152); gesture is thus a "semblance of self-expression" (1959:180). Her famous theory of virtuality in the function of symbols in the arts, leading in the case of dance to its formulation as "virtual power" (1959:175), has been much criticised, the difference between the subjective condition of the performer and the emotion conveyed being one ground: a dancer does not have to be sad to make a sad movement (Best 1974:71); and more generally, expression as virtual may be misleading:

> Human movement does not symbolise reality, it is reality. The experiences it provides are unique, they are not merely vicarious reflections of our real-life experience, through the medium of symbolism (Best 1978:137);

a symphony expressing feelings of tragic loss does not literally have those feelings.[16]

Langer posits a special aesthetic appreciation, a quasi-spiritual force which emanates from the percipient who enacts onto the work (1959:395). A work of art

> does not effect a communication...it is a more direct traffic with intuition than we hold by discursive symbols (Langer 1959:393).

For Goodman there is no speciality involved beyond the characterisation of symbols in that situation or frame. The percipient is likewise given an active role, but contra Langer it is claimed that,

> In aesthetic experience, the emotions function cognitively (Goodman 1976:247).

Langer's differentiation of aesthetic pleasure as

> akin to the discovery of truth...more like having a new experience than entertaining a new proposition (1978:260-3),

is here challenged: not only because experience as deemed aesthetic does not exclude propositionality, but also because non-aesthetic experiences may also include a-propositionality.[17]

These remarks raise questions for how something may be understood to have style, and thus, how something may be codified and related to another set of stylistically autonomous features through a process of inter-textuality or inter-referentiality. It is useful here to remember Sontag's view of style as being everywhere, rather than on the 'outside' of content - or in other words, that style should not be understood as superficial, trivial, and evading the problem of 'meaning', but rather as trying to imagine how meaning is carried through different metaphors, for example, instead of meaning being "carried" (Sontag 1967:28). Goodman suggests that style is exclusively to do with the functioning of the work in question (1978:35), and that ultimately it is

> identifying the properties of a literary or pictorial or music style [which] matters more than further classifying them into way of saying, exemplifying, and expressing (1978:33).

However, Goodman also expresses a nominalist desire to be rid of properties altogether![18]

The most important aspect of stylisation in his analysis is that it is not an essential feature; rather, it comes and goes, is external to form (1978:59); labels are elements outside style, not properties of the functioning of the work as symbol (1978:35). What is meant here is that what makes the form what it is (i.e., art or not or something else) depends on labels brought to it. Style is hereby contingent, not essential, and more radically proposed than Sontag's omnipresence which seems to attribute to style an ontological vitalism which would usurp the role of meaning it claims to make dispensable.

It might be noted here that the use of 'style' in this study, as a synonym for manner, is not congruent with Goodman's. For example, the distinction between Yogyakartan and Surakartan styles is important as they are labels given to ways of performing dance movements which are similar if not identical, whereas in fact Yogyakarta basically "uses straight and angular lines" and Surakarta "curved lines" (Soedarsono 1984:220-1). This set up identifications by means of style understood as epitome and vehicle for a stereotype which emerges contrastively, and to which references of historico-moralist types adhere. Dance in this sense becomes a large sign of, the clustering of significance being most dense in the case of fights, and involving a displacement (to metaphor and back again: exemplifying), from a single referential route to/from actual fights on horseback in the past - a temporal figure already introducing a remove in the use of referential labels (see Chapter VIII for detailed discussion).

(iv) Interpretation, Meaning, and Codification

The above emphasis has tended to move art and referentiality away from an ontological concern to a epistemological one. Collingwood (1972:17-20) and Goodman (1984:29) both look askance on ontology, and have accordingly adopted stands which reject art as substance, an attribute due to the emphasis placed on the plastic arts (and thus plasticity and materiality) since the Renaissance. It is significant that for Collingwood - who regarded art as language - and for Goodman - the title of whose work, Languages of Art, belies the fact that it is "symbol systems" and not language which interests him in art (1976:xii) - dance has been important for theoretical analysis, as it is usually excluded from general works on art, given its own literature. Collingwood went so far as to claim it as the mother of language; and also stressed that art as language did not entail the translation of expression from one medium to another.[19] Both theorists, regardless of 'expressionist' tags applied to Collingwood (e.g., Copeland and Cohen 1983:3), have made substantial headway in moving the issues to be discussed away from ideas of substantial and essential presuppositions. Anthropologists, sadly, have failed to follow their example,[20] or to acknowledge the implications of querying the aesthetic as a category; as noted, Javanese ethnography has been particularly dogged by this.

It is ironical that this has been the case, particularly as the Javanese language admits of no such privileged activity or attribute. As already shown, there is no 'odd-job' work in Javanese which serves like 'dance' in English: bĕksa is the closest thing, but is applied to different segments and combinations of dance-movement, from a

single movement (a wrist turn) through to collections of movements which are considered as constituting a specific form: e.g., Bĕksan Lawung.[21]

In a similar vein there is no 'drama', only specific types of theatre (Wayang Wong, Wayang Purwa, etc.: see Appendix 1) which are associated first with plots drawn from specific bodies of narratives, each theatre having it own appropriate source (by convention); and second, for special occasions, although this is changing today. Nor is there a general term for music, sound being named for its source: gamĕlan music is made by a gamĕlan ensemble; vocal music is named for the singers (pĕsindhen; gerong is sometimes used of male singers, and less commonly, waranggana for women; the Dutchified 'koor' is also used of mixed vocals). Questions therefore of whether dance enhances music or vice versa are irrelevant in these terms (see Chapter III, Section iii).

Apart from specific terms (classes of one, in a true nominalist sense), there is an ascriptive classifier, used adjectivally or adverbally, adiluhung (or adi-luhung), cognate with the terms adi and luhung/luhur, which include 'the best' and 'ancestors' among their meanings.[22] Adiluhung is applied to gamĕlan music played in the palace, palace dance forms, such things being considered of the best, and also as handed down, value being attributed to things passed down (naluri). Marriage is adiluhung, but dance when joged should not be (by palace codes any way).[23]

There is no Javanese word for Indonesian translations of 'art'; but if one looks up kesenian or seni (B.I. 'art') in an Indonesian-Javanese dictionary, one is given for seni 'alus, ngrawit, ngrĕmit'

(see Chapter III, Section (iii); the other terms indicate 'fine'); and for kesenian 'kagungan adiluhung', literally, 'makings which are adiluhung' (Purwadarminta, n.d.). It is clear that adiluhung may include practices which are covered by the term 'art', but not exclusively or necessarily.

Other terms for values generally have moral, aesthetic, and spiritual dimensions, suggesting that it is wrong perhaps to see separation in aesthetic (or spiritual) categories:

> The religious categories refer to realms outside the forms they express; the moral and the metaphorical. The aesthetic categories refer to the forms themselves (Peacock 1975:146).

This formulation is clearly questionable, given the analytical tools discussed above, and will be further explored in Chapter VII.

Having discussed some problems which arise from correspondence theory (see above, on art as imitation) and substantivism in art, it is suggested that a perspectival approach be adopted. This will first recognise the problem of separability of both 'art' and 'dance' in theory as well as in application to the Javanese case; and second, will allow scope for the play of significance in other references and identifications which are entailed or presupposed (see Kempson 1977:141-5), in discussions held during fieldwork about běksa, so as not to impose theoretical determinations on the material, but rather to show what minimal ethnographic direction has allowed to come out in discussion. These identifications will be discussed in subsequent chapters.[24] In connection with my opening remarks, it could be adduced here that if there were no chicken or egg in Java, nor will there be in this study.

Something should be said here also about the theoretical use of 'text' and the concomitant hermeneutic interpretation which often accompanies it (Rabinow and Sullivan 1979; Culler 1981). The problem of style and content, and thus of meaning, has already been introduced, but it makes sense to consider the question of meaning, and therefore interpretation, further.

First, interpretation has been strongly criticised for its idea of how meaning is carried. Best, for instance, attacks theories which seek meaning as 'lying behind something', suggesting instead a contextual theory (Best 1974:107). Sontag notes an aversion to interpretation, though not in the sense that "There are no facts, only interpretations" (citing Nietzsche), but in the sense that there is

> a conscious act of the mind which illustrates a certain code, certain 'rules' of interpretation (1967:5),

which in turn sustains the illusion that works of art have a 'content' which can be emptied out or brought to light theoretically. The function of criticism (and other discourses, including anthropology)

> should be to show how it is what it is, even that it is what it is, rather than to show what it means (Sontag 1967:14; cf. Goodman 1984:5, above, and also Foucault 1972:24-5).

A possible problem of cognition/recognition exists here (see opening quotations).

The notion of a text which can be read to expose the meaning has been criticised in the case of dance by Best (1978), and more generally, in the case of 'culture'.[25]

The relevance or lack of it in attempting to impose a theoretical approach which is based on 'reading' a situation, such as the dance in Yogyakarta, which is multi-dimensional and beyond appeal to the eye

alone (some informants speak more of sharing breathing than the audience 'watching/seeing' the dancers) has been mentioned already (Chapter III, Section ii). Furthermore, a Goodman-type analysis, with the application of primitive species of reference with flexibility with minimal extensions, suggest a valid and perhaps more useful alternative to the type of high-definition codification advocated by Elam et al., particularly in view of the grounding of that theory in Aristotelian principles (Elam 1980:2-3).[26]

It has already been stated that dance in Yogyakarta is more or less concerned with identifications. In the case of dance movement, the approved identification for praise is 'flowing water' (toya mili). This phrase is not restricted to dance, however. During fieldwork it was heard applied to the steady provision of tea and snacks at a social gathering when the event was being evaluated afterwards; to the effect produced when playing the wooden xylophone (gambang) properly; to the philosophy of "whence and whither" (sangkan paraning dumadi), a sort of 'it all returns' dogma. The use of the label toya mili may be understood to result in the creation of unification (I do not say "is intended to") and inter-referentiality at the cost of bounded categories and neat coherences. It is appropriateness and directional (not categorical) coherence which emerge as patterns in how things are ascribed, attributed, and finally, classed.

This kind of labelling then sets up a kind of inter-referentiality (not inter-textuality), which may also be discovered among terms in different practices: some mention has been made of these above, terms which are identical or cognate and yet used in different situations with different meanings, and are not necessarily recognised as being

incriminated in any kind of sameness (to assume this would be like a learner of English trying to make connections between die [to expire] and die [lots of dice], or even worse, die [to expire] and dye [to change the colour of]).

Homonymy of this kind has been noted, and others may be added: the name of the bĕdhaya dancers Gulu (neck) and Dhadha (chest), terms also applied to the second and third tones of the pelog and slĕndro tuning systems in music (noted also by Soedarsono 1984:288, 296; I have yet to encounter any interpretational mileage being made of this coincidence[?]). The muting or resonancing of associations between terms semantically or sonorously, will be considered in Chapter VI. What should be noticed now is the implication for these possible connections in establishing referential relations by means of divers routes.[27] One might recall that Bĕdhaya is the form the least susceptible to an analysis requiring direct reference. Semiologically it is the most abstract, the most indirectly referential or exemplificatory form, a formal extension of elements which comprise the dance mode which it uses.

Another case which suggests resistance to any regulated or ruled codification is the way classifications work, as illustrated in Chapter III for dance. It was shown that formalisation could be imposed on the dance to a certain extent, but that there were not only competing taxonomies, but also, that within these taxonomies, the dance itself was not amenable to one single code, structured as it was into a series of terminal classes which could form part of a larger class if necessary (e.g. patrap as part of bĕksa); such ascriptions could not be applied uniquely. The problem of sĕndhi link passages showed

clearly the lack of consensus as to how this class might be conceived and what it might contain. The rationalisation of the KBW into basic, mixed and extra 'dance' did little to credit the flexibility of the scheme, and the kind of transformational function of one movement down the classification, such as 'brushing moustache' (usap rawis); a good example of the importance of the large part played by minute details in what could be called Javanese expressivity if not differentiation, a tiny sign having an important semiotic differential function; a tiny symbol having a large referential function...

The quality of these taxonomies as perspectival, not inscribed as benchmarks, becomes clear when the sphere of reference to explain or construct them (shadow puppets, recently technical actions) is remembered. Certain classifications might be indicative of a losing of options and of culture (if culture is inherent in how things may be associated), and the problem of codification could well cease to be a purely academic one, and become a socio-political issue, with repercussions in the economic sphere. With regard to codification also, as a notation of dance makes sense (provided one knows the notation) more if the dance is known, it is hard to reconstruct the dance just from the notation which will not convey the authenticity of the dance if that version was "less good" than the new one.[28]

Even the sophisticated codification proposed by Elam with reference to Greimas by means of sevel levels of coherence,[29] does not satisfy the conditions which obtain for inter-referentiality in Javanese dance-and-culture. First, there tend not to be generalisable paradigms over a broad number of cases, and second, there are quite optional and/or consistent or incoherent views of dance, the most extreme

being the "for beauty/as spiritual practice" conflation, which cannot be rationalised simply according to an explanation which presents the Indic idea of dance-as-worship as a precedent (see Chapters VII and VIII below), especially given the variation between and across forms. Also, what Elam has classed as 'overcoding' in the case of Noh and Kabuki (see above) is pertinent in Yogyakarta, but to say it is overcoding in relation to some other strata of codes is inappropriate. Some Javanese reckon that the military reference is constitutive and motivatory of palace dance, not only in the past but also in the present. The theory of reference and exemplification comes closer to the ways of possible labelling than to strata of codes, and their optionality or possible absence or silence, imminence or immanence, seems too fickle and elusive to be satisfied through a code, semiotic or other.

(v) Versions and Multiple Perspectives

Given the implications for 'art' and 'reality' as a ground for reference-beating, and in view of both theoretical perspectives and ethnographic contingencies, it might seem that the best approach is the avoidance of oversimplification. If one has to choose between essential form and classes of one, perhaps the latter is favourable: less washing may be done, but at least it will be clean (see Goodman's parable of the Platonist and the Nominalist, 1984:50). It has already been noticed how Javanese taxonomies are not sufficient to satisfy accounts of coherence and meaning, because here practice and abstraction tend to be specific (i.e., not generalised: see Chapter VI).

It was noted above that some theoreticians choose to regard theatre as counterfactual. This is misconceived, it would seem, at least from the ethnography where reiterated value references did not constitute a hypothetical world, even though the role of dance as epitome may be understood to be that of an ideal model - not quite the same as counterfactual.

Against the idea of a single reality, the idea of different versions seems appropriate, not only to the case in hand, but to the very foundations of anthropology which cannot deny its relativising methodology, albeit one not untouched by etic deductions and rationales. Versus a single reality is the view that

> worlds are made by making such versions within words, numerals, pictures, sounds, or other symbols of any kind in any medium, and the comparative study of these versions and vision of their making is what I call a critique of world-making (Goodman 1978:93-4).

It is not proposed here to make a comparative critique in the transcultural sense (beyond the unavoidable comparisons which arise between one's origin and one's ethnographic field), but to consider the grounds of problems and some of the pertinent conditions of one's practice: its variable references, and the ways in which these are translated (or sent back) to other spheres of references and assumptions.

Although it might appear that the illustration provided is a single version, it will become clear (if not already) that there is more than one Yogyakartan palace dancing, and that the suggested critique could be comparative within the terms of one version, if not inter-culturally comparative. One would hope of course that Goodman would discount 'culture' in favour of 'version(s)', just as informants will be seen to do.

It is useful here to make a connection with something more ensconced as an anthropological matter, and return to the attack upon intentionality in reference (above). Actor intention was revoked, both as a sufficient condition for positing or extracting structures which could account for representation, and as a causational factor in creating structures, speaker variation occurring as it does above a level of sedimentation which is denser than variation in individual usage. This bears on the problems of presuppositions, providing as they do moulds for sense (its expectation), rather than a sustained motivation resulting in unique effects of a strategy in turn accounting for a complete definition of the sense achieved in a dialogue, etc. This may be compared to observations about the need for "cognitive non-uniformity" as "a functional desideratum of society",[30] tallying as it does with Goodman's idea of non-consistent yet adjacent world versions, which do not fit inside each other like Russian dolls, different sizes but all looking alike, to make up a culture.

In keeping with the spirit of this chapter, it should be noted that there is no word in Javanese to match with 'culture', as has also been discovered in other languages from the Indonesian archipelago.[31]

(vi) Conclusions

This chapter has considered the status and characteristics of art and representations, suggesting that some ideas about imitation and substance are not only inadequate to the ethnography, but theoretically contestable as well; heavy use has been made of the work by Goodman, in the spirit of enquiry rather than subscription. It is not advocated that a Goodman-style nominalism be imposed upon the

Javanese in Yogyakarta, generating 'the nominalist Javanese' instead of 'the mystical/aesthetic/etc. Javanese' - though such a substitution might not be such a bad thing. The aim is to show that, given the ethnography, such theoretical perspectives become appropriate, and may help to steer the analysis away from the quicksands of former images which have sedimented on imaginary foundations to give false nourishment to ethnographic images which have little reference to either the wood or the trees. In particular the theme of 'the aesthetic', in both ethnography and in approaches discussed (almost by negative capability one might say) has been dealt with, along with that of identification and optionality, and the implications of these for codifying schemata.

Having dwelt on these matters, the ethnographic tack will be resumed. The next chapter will discuss the Sultan's palace with reference to both its sphere and its scope, including those areas dealt with by ethnographic literature as 'classifications'. This theme will be developed and elaborated in Chapter VI, which will consider some conditions for describing a model of signification and sense-making in Yogyakarta, what a Javanese discourse might be, and the implications of homonymy in verbal play for models of meaning. Chapter VII will return to certain aspects of dance not yet covered in Chapter III, and explore the various ways in which dance is understood as a practice, and what this says about perception and identity and other presuppositions which are often overlooked in discussions of dance, forming as they do a discourse which may not appear at first sight relevant to the 'category'. Finally, perspectives are diverted from the spiritual to the temporal, to the use of history

and the notion of authority as it bears on group identity, and how this last is constituted, particularly as it features in the contest to define authenticity in dance practices. The argument will both support and draw on the approaches discussed here, and also perhaps encourage the reader to view enthusiastic (and at times dogged) persistence as an alternative image to that of anthropology as a neat coherent analysis in the name of the scientific method. It is to be hoped that the methods and experience of fieldwork have not been lost in the recording and reclassification of that time, and that what will come across are the conditions of cara jawa, the conditions for action in Java.

Or, to put it very differently, "art equips us for survival, conquest, and gain" (Goodman 1976:256).

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Regarding the status of art in anthropology, Firth has observed that the 'anthropology of art' should be concerned with "the human relations of art rather than with its aesthetic qualities" (review of Layton 1981, Times Literary Supplement, January 15, 1982). Against this may be set the idea that "Art is an expression of the totality of a culture...the value system that infuses that culture" (Becker 1979:210). While "infuse" may be misleading, this suggests that aesthetics may become a means to further ethnographic understanding, not something separate and irrelevant. See for example, Collingwood, who sees art as being historically entailed, expressing a process from a "magical...earthed" art with a ritual instrumentality to "amusement art", which releases emotional energy (1979:66, 79). Other readings directed at anthropologists include Smith 1961; Jopling 1971; Otten 1971; Forge 1973; Armstrong 1975; Dutton 1977; Bateson 1978; Maquet 1979; and Layton 1981.

2. "Nothing visible is understood by the sense of sight alone, save light and colours", says the eleventh-century Arabic philosopher Alhazen, also attributed with having taught the West to distinguish between sense, knowledge, and inference (Gombrich 1968:13). The notion of the innocent eye has long been contested, notably in the famous duck-rabbit case, which prompted the comment that "there is more to seeing than meets the eye" (Hanson cited in Chalmers 1978:22), and has had important repercussions for methodologies.

3. Cf. "Far from merely recording what is before us, perception participates in making what we perceive; and for perception there are processes and stages of preparation. Thinking in words or pictures or other symbols may involve not only preparation for producing or judging, but also for perceiving - seeing, hearing, etc. - such symbols" (Goodman 1984:25).

4. The amount of information will determine how 'primitive' images may be understood, giving as they do the "distinctive features" of an object, "not because it draws on knowledge rather than sight, but because it insists on clear classification" (1960:225). For important ideas in the field of literature about the construction of images, see Pound: "A poem does not describe anything...it presents that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time" (Literary Essays(?), cited without source in Welsh 1978:69); and T.S. Eliot: "The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked". This is drawn from an essay on Hamlet, and is further relevant here in the remarks made about the play Hamlet as being a stratification of several plays: art 'imitates' (Eliot 1967:96, 100-1). The role of 'recognition' in this 'stratification' process may be related to the development of a mediating set of images through which the ethnographer encounters 'the field': for the case of Bali, see Boon 1977, and Hobart, forthcoming.

5. This interiorisation leads to Gombrich's psychological theories: for instance, "All art is image-making, and all image-making is the creation of substitutes" (1978:9). Pushed to the limits, this theory is given a different slant, as evinced in Baudrillard's theories of simulation: "Today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror of the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory - PROCESSION OF SIMULACRA - it is the map that engenders the territories and if we were to revive the fable today, it would be the territory whose shreds were slowly rotting across the map. It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges subsist here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire, but our own. The desert of the real itself" (1983:2). Baudrillard's bleak vision of the implications of trends is predicated upon a substitution of the meta- for the hyper-: "It is the very euphoria of simulation, that sees itself as the abolution of cause and effect, the beginning and the end, for all of which it substitutes reduplication. In this manner all closed systems protect themselves at the same time from the referential - as well as from all metalanguage that the system forestalls in playing at its own metalanguage that is to say in duplicating itself in its own critique of itself. In simulation, the metalinguistic (pathetic hallucination of the sign and pathetic hallucination of the real)....The banality of our earthly habitat lifted to the rank of cosmic value, of absolute decor - hypostatised in space - this is the end of metaphysics, the era of hyperreality that begins" (1983:148-9). Simulation is further defined as follows: "Simulation...is opposed to representation. The latter starts from the principle that the sign and the real are equivalent (even if this equivalence is Utopian, it is a fundamental axiom). Conversely, simulation starts from the utopia of this principle of equivalence, from the radical negation of the sign as value, from the sign as reversion and death sentence of every reference. Whereas representation tries to absorb simulation by interpreting it as false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation as itself a simulacrum" (1983:11).

6. See also 1984:62 on the denotational hierarchy, which "may be extended indefinitely, as if by iterating quotation marks around a term of reflecting a picture in a hall of mirrors". A label such as "red" or "unicorn-description" denotes something at the bottom level, but itself is at the next level up, etc. We are in the realm of removes, of perspectives on perspectives, and also of metonymic regress, though Goodman does stress the image of "layers with intersections", rather than simple "levels".

7. He does, however, provide an image of how the three terms are related: "Exemplification and expression, though running in the opposite direction from denotation - that is from the symbol to a literal or metaphorical feature of it instead of something the symbol applies to - are no less symbolic referential functions

and instruments of world-making" (1984:12), and again: "Expression, since limited to what is possessed and moreover to what has been acquired at second-hand, is doubly constrained as compared with denotation. Whereas almost anything can denote or even represent almost anything else, a thing can express only what belongs but did not originally belong to it. The difference between expression and literal exemplification, like the difference between more and less literal representation, is a matter of habit - a matter of fact rather than fiat" (1976:89); see also 1976:92 and 252; and for how these terms are applied to his own film illustration, "Hockey Seen', 1984:69-70.

8. One might detect a sort of nostalgie de la nature, a further wish projected onto the fantasies of the Eastern Other: "Today the nostalgia for a natural referent of the sign is still alive, in spite of the revolutions that have come to break up this configuration, including one in production, where the signs refer no longer to any nature, but only to the law of exchange, and come under the commercial law of value" (Baudrillard 1983:86).

9. This may be contrasted with Ricoeur, who notes three relations of correlation: correspondence - metonymy; connection - synechdoche; resemblance - metaphor (1977:56). Ricoeur observes that "Metaphoric attribution is essentially the construction of the network of interactions that cause a certain context to be one that is real and unique. Accordingly, metaphor is a semantic event that takes place at a point where several semantic fields intersect. It is because of this construction that all the worlds, taken together, make sense" (1977:98). Ricoeur is working in a Fregian system, and diverges considerably from Goodman (1984:71-7), who also claims that "Metaphor arises by transferring a schema of labels for sorting a given realm to the sorting of another realm (or the same realm in a different way) under the guidance or influence or suggestion of the earlier sorting. The new sorting echoes the old and is as genuine, as 'factual', but is different" (1984:61). As a contrast to Ricoeur's three relations may be noted also Burke's four 'literalist/realist' applications of the tropes: metaphor as perspective; metonymy as reduction; synechdoche as representation; and irony as dialectic. Burke's project stresses the overlapping between these four (Burke 1945:503-7). A useful discussion of these tropes is to be found in Hobart 1982. For general perspectives on metaphor, see Sacks 1979; Merquior 1979; Ortony 1979; Lakoff and Johnson 1980.

10. Goodman notes that self-denoting and self-exemplifying symbols are in a minority in mime as such, and goes on to explain: "The word 'bird' or a picture of a bird, not being itself a bird, exemplifies no label denoting all and only birds; and a miming of a flight, not being a flight, exemplifies no label denoting all and only flights. A word or picture or pantomime does not often exemplify any label coextensive with it". Continuing on the subject of modern Western dance, he observes that "...to regard these

movements as illustrating verbal descriptions would of course be absurd; seldom can the just wording be found. Rather, the label a movement exemplifies may be itself; such a movement, having no antecedent denotation, takes on the duties of a label denoting certain actions including itself. Here, as often elsewhere in the arts, the vocabulary evolves along with what it is used to convey" (Goodman 1976:63-5). We might note here Isadora Duncan's observation, "If I could tell you what it meant, there would be no point in dancing it" (cited by Bateson 1978:110), although her absolute exclusion of comment may be queried.

11. This approach is not without its opponents: see Margolis 1983 below, fn.28. A gloomy voice is also heard in the desert, albeit in extreme terms: "Art is everywhere, since artifice is at the very heart of reality. And so art is dead, not only because its critical transcendence is gone, but because reality itself, entirely impregnated by an aesthetic which is inseparable from its own structure, has been confused with its own image. Reality no longer has the time to take on the appearance of reality. It no longer has the time to capture every drama before it takes on the appearance of a dream...the principle of simulation wins out over the reality principle just as over the principle of pleasure" (Baudrillard 1983:151-2). Such a meta-commentary stands, perhaps appropriately to its ironic tone (see Burke, fn.9 above), in a dialectical relation to the direction of Goodman's nominalism, although Baudrillard's Marxist garb is ostensibly directed at the influence of Foucault.

12. Cf. Best's criticism of a subjectivist approach, which denies that "movements have meaning only by being symbols...we subsume it under a concept which is determined by a whole set of circumstances by which it occurs", ('it' being dance) (1978:132, 137).

13. Apart from technical problems in Goodman's analysis, of the kind posed by Margolis (see fn.28), there remains the problem of transferring theoretical schema across cultures. This exploration is thus intended to raise questions, not to be applied wholesale and literally to the material from Java.

14. For the case of anthropology, this may be compared with a review article by Clifford, where he considers two new studies on Samoa: "Ethnographies are complex, realistic fictions derived from research in historical circumstances that can never be fully controlled. A score of counter-examples may not descredit a convincingly illustrated portrait of a culture. The discordant facts may be seen to reflect merely a different village or island, a different epoch, research strategy, personal temperament, etc....To falsify a powerful cultural fiction one must substitute a potent and persuasive counter-fiction" (1983:475).

15. Symbols "float" over and above and between related groups, and are not necessarily associated with custom (Parkin 1978:299). As for identifications which may not tally with the moment, see Rabinow 1977 on the informant who thought he was poor but was by Rabinow's

measure relatively solvent. The alienation of this Moroccan from his present situation may be compared to the cases closer to home of the nouveau pauvre , whose middle-class identifications alienate him from the immediacies of economic deprivation in such a way as to baffle simple ethnographic explanation. The identification, suspended in relation to 'reality' may however be active in determining expectations, and the present deprivation may be nullified as the expectations formed in the past identifications determine possible futures. (For symbols see also fn.17.)

16. "Expression can be placed with, not defined as, metaphorical exemplification; for a work does not express, though it may exemplify, such a metaphorical feature as having made a mint. Just as some but not all of the literal properties of a painting are pictorial...so some but not all of the metaphorical properties are pictorial; and the work expresses such of the latter as it exemplifies" (Goodman 1984:61).

17. One cannot stress too much how 'symbol' becomes a tool in a system: for Langer, symbols are signs in absentia: if something is present, it is not a symbol (1978:31; for a critique, see Armstrong 1975:13), while for Goodman sign and symbol are synonymous. Ricoeur's symbols have a sacral dimension, the temporal being provided by metaphor (1977). The denial of the term as a tool is well illustrated in Bloch (1974), where it is argued that symbols may not carry propositional meaning and thus can only reiterate existing structures rather than contradict or conflict. For a counter to this, see Chapter VIII (IF the dance is a symbol as Bloch understands the term). Homogenisation through 'symbol' as a relational system should not be confused with what has been treated as a breakdown of differentiation: "Symbolised reality becomes, paradoxically, the loss of all symbolism; the loss of difference is necessarily betrayed by the differentiated expression of language", leading to tragedy as loss of differentiation leads to violence (Girard 1977:65; cf. Baudrillard, fn.11, above). Croce speaks against a substitution view of the symbol: "...in art all is symbolical, because all is ideal. But if the symbol be conceived as separable - if the symbol can be on one side, and on the other the thing symbolised, we fall back into the intellectualist error; the so-called symbol is the exposition of an abstract concept, an allegory; it is science, or art aping science" (1959:34). While much 'interpretative' anthropology might incur the tag of 'allegorical' by Croce, it is interesting to note here how Goodman at one coincides and yet diverges, particularly with regard to the relation between art and science in terms of symbols. Goodman himself makes passing reference to idealism and realism, stating that he deliberately avoids the distinction between what is due to convention and what is content in discourse, claiming that by avoiding this, the above philosophical categories may 'flicker out'; such simplicities he deems to be "flat-footed philosophy" (1984:44).

18, Discussing routes of reference, Goodman observes that "as a nominalist I should want the eventual account to be free of talk of features or properties" (1984:59, n.4). However, previously in a discussion of nominalism, he has already covered himself: "Nominalism seldom if ever goes by itself" (1984:48-52).

19. It is useful here to recall Collingwood's three types of ambiguity likely to arise in language and concept use: 'obsolete meanings' in which past usage leaves traces in the present; 'analogical meanings' arising from the limits of one language in discussing experience deriving from another language universe (both anthropology and dance come under this category); and 'courtesy meanings' (or their opposite), where a descriptive motive is overshadowed by an emotional one (Collingwood 1979:7-8). The use of the term 'symbol' could be fruitfully discussed with reference to these three categories of obscuring ambiguity.

20. See, for example, Blacking 1977, and critical views of 'choreology' in Kaeppler 1978, and in Spencer, in press, Introduction. Pertinent in principle as well as to the Javanese case is Best's observations that "The movement is not a sign, but a criterion (in the narrowest sense) of the sensation. The meaning of dance is not an aggregate. It is rather that the individual movements and phrases contribute to a way of seeing the whole dance, and that interpretation in turn endows them with meaning" (Best 1974: 146-50).

21. Compare a term used for a ceremonial event in Jav. and B.I., 'upacara'; O.J. has the following meanings: 'requisites, accessories, paraphernalia; the proper adornments, appurtenance, insignia; the proper conduct, rites, etiquette' (Zoetmulder 1982). We might note here also a process in usage from the specific items (as bĕksa is dance-movement) to an event drawing its name from those items in their full collectivity and implementation.

22. Adi from Skt ādi 'beginning, first', as convergence and connotations; "They became apparent, moved to 'prominent', and hence to 'valuable', 'precious' which is the meaning of Mod Jav adi-adi. The derivatives of this word now express such ideas as 'to consider as very valuable, to sing the praises of, to recommend; to take care of>overindulge, coddle' (in colloquial usage)"(Gonda 1952:346; he does not note adiluhung). Adi is also given as indah (B.I. 'beautiful') (Prawiroatmodjo 1980 and Purawadarminta, n.d., who also give luhur or luhung: 'high, novel, virtuous, valued, supreme'; lĕluhur, ancestors, again, neither mention adiluhung. Moertono refers to both agung and luhur as being identified with "the inner" (1968). One might also note Gonda's note on kagunan, "industrial art, applied art", and even '(creative) art' from Skt guṇavān, 'useful, excellent'; it also denotes 'ingenious' (1952:348).

23. Horne's examples are: adi-luhunge laki rabi 'the sacred nature of marriage' (sacred is not right here); adi-luhunging joged: 'the exquisiteness of the dance'; wulang adi-luhung: 'revered teachings'; adi-luwih: 'fine, sublime; exalted'; kagunan sing adi-luwih: 'the fine arts' (Horne 1974). In so far as a sense of hierarchy enters into this conceptualisation, we might note Burke's remark about Coleridge's poetics, where beauty is considered a sensory mode of appeal, while hierarchy transforms the appeal to that of the sublime (Burke 1969:325). It could also be noted here that in so far as the dance practice in the Yogyakartan palace is about establishing identifications, it is a rhetorical device.

24. I should clarify my terms here: 'identification' is used in the sense of a personal, variable connection, while 'reference' is used with the intention of avoiding the stable solidity implied in the term 'context', of which more will be said in Chapter V. In simultaneously denying substantiality to the dance-as-art, I hope not to fall into the error of conflating the empirical and the conceptual, noted by Best with reference to approaches to dance which see it as a "phenomenon" from "various frames of reference" (1978:67). Also, I do not consider movement as a neutral 'thing' susceptible to being termed 'phenomenon', as I hope Chapter III has already made clear (see 1978:68-9).

25. Cf. also Errington with reference to another area of Indonesia, the Minangkabau area of West Sumatra. He criticised the use of 'text' as having depth or 'thickness' (as in Geertz 1973), and suggests that the Minangkabau use signs, allowing "distinctive resolutions to problems which are universal". Interpretation here is no longer to be understood as "cracking a code", but deciphering a message. Symbol is irrelevant to the Minangkabau case, as he grows general: "The connotation of 'symbol' speaks to the rootlessness of Western experience, the homelessness of Western consciousness" (1984:31-5, 111). We might note a lack of rootlessness in Goodman's conflation of sign and symbol for analytical purposes. The idea of textual density may be related to container theories of meaning, such as those created to deal with music, in which meanings are divided into two types: congeneric meaning, which is internal, the icon and referent being of the same kind; and extrageneric meaning, when music is interpreted as a sign of a non-musical object, i.e., the icon and referent are different (Coker 1972:34, 60-1). The reader is referred back to comments on the impossibility of purity of the sign in order to show the problems of this approach. Thinking more generally here, Goodman notes: "Thinking in cannot be reduced to thinking of. Words we think in are somehow 'in the mind', while cabbages or words we think of are not. But what can this mean? What sort of thing is a mind that words can be in, and how can words be in it?....No firm line can be drawn between world-features that are discourse-dependent and those which are not....In practice, of course, we draw the line wherever we like, and change it as often as suits our purposes" (1984:22, 41).

26. So, by denying the criterion of imitation which has been argued to necessitate the exclusion of parades or processions from the category of 'dance' (Copeland and Cohen 1983:1), the shared associations of processional and dance-movement, and also fights and dance-movement in Yogyakarta (see Chapter VIII), ceases to be a problem.

27. Best's critique of the use of "illegitimate" metaphors in dance analysis is acknowledged here, as are his remarks about problems of rhythm (1978:30, 41), and for this reason 'irama' will be read as 'measure' rather than 'rhythm'. However, the practice of extending the application of 'irama' to behaviour in general will not be treated as a case of 'illegitimacy', such indictments being more appropriately reserved perhaps for theoretical lapses in forgetting the figurative bases of their terms and making applications which derive from the force of the metaphor rather than the object of study; e.g., dramaturgical and actor models in anthropology.

28. Notation may serve to illustrate differences between modes, for example (Soedarsono 1984:Figs.117-38), but it cannot satisfy the conditions for reproducing the dance in performance. Goodman's views on dance notation seem odd, given his nominal stance. While acknowledging that dance falls between painting which has no notation and music which does (though elsewhere he suggests that this is not in Western scores a true notation: 1984:57, n.3), its capacity to be notated is not obvious (1976:212). He also notes that in notation systems, symbols are unambiguous and distinct at both semantic and syntactical levels, in contrast to the ambiguous nature of symbols in a verbal system, which are also not distinct semantically (1984:57). However, he seems to be sanguine of being able to define "the essential properties a performance must have to belong to the work" (1976:212), and also being able to make "reasonably consistent judgments as to whether performances by different people are instances of the same dance" (1976:213). It is useful to recall Collingwood's reservations about transferring from one 'language' to another; and also, we might note Burke's remark: "No two things or acts or situations are exactly alike;... you cannot apply the same term to both of them without thereby introducing a certain margin of ambiguity, an ambiguity as great as the difference between the two subjects that are given the same identical title" (Burke 1945:xix). Goodman has been attacked for his views on notation by Margolis who accuses him of being more concerned with "the properties of a musical score by which Beethoven's Fifth could be identified, than with the properties of Beethoven's Fifth" (1984:383) - we might remember an inconsistency in Goodman over properties (see above fn.18). Margolis then proceeds to attack the entire thesis that art is not a language but a symbol system by criticising the terms 'expression' and 'exemplification', claiming that Goodman has "conflated the possession of properties with the performance

of certain linguistic or symbolic acts or functions" (1984:386). In these terms, works of art are not demonstrated to be symbols, and thus "the thesis cannot be made to entail that an artwork must exemplify its own expressive qualities" (1984:386). Presumably Goodman could defend himself here with reference to his own remarks, with extreme nominalism being one not of classes but of individuals (1984:49), with versions varied, but well made, with all entities construed as individuals. However, in view of the requirement that "the nominalist cancels out the property and treats the predicate as bearing a one-many relationship directly to several things it applies to or denotes" (1984:49), it is hard to see how notation may be incorporated positively into Goodman's wider project; indeed, his 1984 collection suggests a retraction from his earlier position.

29. These are textual, action (proairetic), referential, discourse, logical, rhetorical and stylistic, and semantic coherences (Elam 1980:182-3). In connection with the semantic level of coherence, he cites Greimas on isotopes or pluriisotopes, the first being "homogeneous semantic levels" at which "whole texts are situated" and which create "contextual restrictions on meanings"; two or more form pluriisotopes: for instance, Middleton's "A Game at Chess" is (a) a game, (b) a political system (1980:184). Interesting as this is, it seems that this concept is quite a large one to start off with, particularly in view of how identifications may be made along various routes of reference, at different levels of removes. One might also question the requirement of coherence at all, seeing as incoherence may be equally important in any form or performance, particularly at the semantic level (see in Chapters VII and VIII).

30. The anthropologist "must recognize the possibility of a radical diversity of mazeways that have their orderly relationship guaranteed not by the sharing of uniformity but by their capacities for mutual prediction" (Wallace 1970:23-4). Wallace notes surprisingly divergent ranges of synonyms or antonyms offered for 'core vocabulary', such as the word 'anger', and notes that the 'equivalence structures' - relations of equivalence between (a) and (b) (1970:27-9) - of which such cores form a part will be "the articulation of uniquely private cognitive worlds, the measure of individual value will not be conformity but complementarity" (1970:25, 33-4). Predictability rests on the level of secondary equivalence structures, which are implicit. This stress on divergence and lack of normative consensus as a theme may be extended further to include Sperber's comments about symbols and interpretations: "The mere idea that there is or can be a 'proper' interpretation for symbols is itself normative, when in most societies individuals are left fairly free to interpret symbols as they please (1979:28). It might be that 'symbol' is not useful here, and that 'aspect' may be more accurate to describe what kind of meaning-ascribing or hazarding activity is going on in indigenous systems (see Chapter VI).

31. The word kabudayan in modern Javanese derives from O.J. budaya, 'talented, intellectual, intellect, culture, civilisation' (Gonda 1952:319). Budi, the root, is to do with ingenuity, intelligence, discrimination, and has been translated as 'mind', 'insight'; meanings of Skt buddhi- in O.J. include 'power of forming and retaining general notions, intelligence, reason, mind, discernment; opinion, notion, idea, character, nature, disposition; intention, purpose'. In so far as budi to do with virtue, it is perhaps more appropriate to gloss kabudayan as 'civilisation', more positively ascribed than 'culture' (which theoretically of course means many things). The Indonesian usage of kebudayaan can lead to problems in regional usage, as Collins has noted among the Besemah of South Sumatra: "Kebudayaan (culture) is a word that government officials use to mean the traditional sword dance by youth and the procession of maidens bearing offering trays that the authorities usually stage on the occasion of a visit by some dignitary. Likewise...masyarakat (society) is an abstract notion that government officials generally use in their pronouncements to mean 'the populace' or 'the citizenry' of the nation who were usually exhorted to improve production and aim at 'development'". He notes that the concept which elicited 'cultural' data was sejarah, 'history' (Collins 1979:14-5). So, in Java, a dance director and civil servant defined Javanese culture (kebudayaan B.I.) as "the results of character (budi) given form in various media". The implications of budi in kabudayan will be taken up in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER V

KRATON: THE PALACE AND ITS PLACE

Analogy

A certain important man of learning said to a Sufi: "Why do you Sufis always use analogies? Such forms are good enough for the ignorant, but you can speak clearly to people of sense". The Sufi said: "Experience shows, alas, that it is not a matter of the ignorant and the wise. It is a matter of those who are most in need of a certain understanding, or even a certain part of understanding, are always the least able to accept it without an analogy. Tell them directly and they will prevent themselves from perceiving its truth"(Shah 1977:82).

Sometimes metaphors enable us to see aspects of reality that the metaphor's production helps to constitute (Ortony 1979:39).

The facts of Nature are solid enough, but Man is a weathercock standing in the middle, looking first at one part and then at another. A little idea in one sentence appears to contain a whole new world philosophy. So it does. But then a world philosophy is only a certain direction, N or S. It is quite easy to change this direction (Hulme 1971:238).

It became evident in Chapter III that to speak of the significance of palace dancing in Yogyakarta, it is necessary to speak about the palace. "The palace is like a/the world", (*kraton seperti dunia* B.I.), or a universe (*jagad*), and the aim of this chapter will be to enquire not only how dance figures in this world, but also about ways of classifying aspects of the world, as discussed in Yogyakarta.

Indonesian ethnography has played a large part in determining the interests of the Dutch structuralist school of anthropology, with

concepts such as 'binarism' and the 'five-four' system (see below) becoming de rigeur in discussions of the classificatory systems of the region, Yogyakarta being no exception. However, the latent danger of what cannot be denied to be theoretically elegant has been hinted at in a recent collection of studies on classifications in South East Asia (Milner 1978). In a discussion of dance, it becomes evident that a structured explanation cannot account for certain features of terminologies and linkage, which in indigenous terms fulfil the condition of 'flowing water'. With regard to spheres other than dance, a remark by Coedès, cited by Christie in an article about Javanese classifications, is apposite: "Il faut se défier des classifications trop systematiques, des cadres trop rigides dans lesquelles on force, non sans dommage, une réalité mouvante et souple"(1978:134).

While one might have reservations about the possibility of a single reality which is moving and supple in any essential way, the challenge to the relevance of a structural processing of material seems appropriate in view of the discussion so far. At the same time, the idea of classification is also caught up with the character of language, which is to posit. Dance has already shown itself not only to counteract, but even to be in conflict with such tendencies in and of language.

It is proposed here to develop the notion hazarded earlier concerning the way in which bĕksa (dance movement) may be understood as instances of things valued which are actualised at the moment of performance (and training practice!), and to look at certain things in relation to standard discussions of their classificatory value; to see the thing not as an enactment of a classification, but as instances of classification. Classifications, after all, come from actualisations,

but sometimes, as will be seen below, the actuality is lost in generality, or misconceptions which come to replace actuality by dint of being reiterated. Thus, it will be shown that the king's palace does gain strength from its cosmological identifications, but in a way which eludes any fixed classification of such references. Practices in the palace, including dance, do not add up to a consistent enactment of classifications as they have come to be identified, but may take up one or more aspects or part of classifications. The importance of specificity which emerged above will not be denied here.

As will become evident, classifications are as often as not figures of speech. While the term 'identifications' will be used to avoid problems, some associations will be discussed in terms of metaphor and synechdoche. More will be said about the relevance of such terminology and ways of explaining the world; for now, such usage should be tolerated as provisional. For now the purpose will be to consider some ethnographic instances, and to pull together the results in the next chapter, which will address the problem of figurative language and language strategies in more detail.

This chapter will therefore start with one way in which dance and palace converge through identifications pertaining to behaviour, or to cara jawa. This will be followed by discussions of various classificatory images which have accrued to the palace: the significance of its orientations, the effect this has had on the image of the king, and so forth. Actual practices within the palace will then be examined in order to challenge some of the generalisations cited, and the importance of the classifications of in-out will be explored. The palace will be seen to exemplify the inside par excellence, an identification which

has repercussions for how its dances are understood, and which also gives rise to a way of talking about the self. This will demonstrate how references tend to flow, coming to represent each other. If one recalls Kaeppler's comments about movement systems, it will become clear that the relation of difference between bĕksa and joged ('dance' k. and ng. respectively) is, as already suggested, more than a matter of language levels, implying as it does the difference between in (jĕro) and out (jaba), the first of which is epitomised by the palace.

(i) Being in Place: Two Instances

In learning palace dancing in Yogyakarta, it does not take long to realise that orientation is one of the most important elements in its expressive strength, relying as it does not on the sweeping climaxes of release and a dying away as in the élancé modes in classical ballet, but on a sustained pressure not to take off but instead to keep within the limits. These are defined by preconditions (pathokan), which in Yogyakartan female dance are stringent, particularly concerning elbows and wrists, resulting in a much more disciplined effect than the Surakartan style. Movements are made within the limits of one's own body space, with the exception of the use of sashes which rupture this space and which, as noted above, are susceptible to moral and spiritual interpretation.

Furthermore, dances being mostly for groups, and the biggest female group, the Bĕdhaya, being the most esteemed form, the more valued the form, the higher the chances of the dancers colliding. The formations in Bĕdhaya are arrived at by the dancers running on tiptoe

to resume their new position without interrupting the rhythmic pulse in the dance, showing impressive control to avoid collision. In addition to this, experience has also taught that when dancing in the usual open-sided pavilion, pĕndhapa or bangsal, whose hipped roof is supported by twelve pillars around the edge and four in the centre (and depending on how the roof is edged, perhaps another nineteen or so to support what is called the roof of the emper), not to bump into a pillar is less simple than it might appear.

It gradually transpired that these are also problems for Yogyakartan dancers, and this has given rise to a theory of space with a spiritual dimension being given as a grounding for dance conventions, both with regard to one's space for oneself and with relation to others. The organisation of movements off the spot, going forwards (majĕng), backwards (mundur), and the different ways of being in place (mapan) (see Appendix 2), is termed iguh.[1] A senior lady choreographer explained that iguh is not classed as one of the three measures (wirama), but is part of achieving the desired effect of being assured (mantĕp), and thereby avoiding collisions.

There was general agreement in Yogyakarta that the dance there is "always on one leg", as an examination of the Sari Tunggal sequence will show, which endorses Hildred Geertz's suggestion that there is a cultural preoccupation in Java with keeping one's balance (1961:149). However, in training, it is less balance than orientation which is the most difficult to master, especially in fighting duets, where a loss of directional control was evident among local trainees as well as foreigners, though the latter took longer to orientate. It is perhaps for this reason that Bĕdhaya is reserved for more experienced dancers.

In that dance is susceptible to identification as a moral-carrying activity - and it will be shown later that people do treat their dance highly deductively - this concern with spatial orientation in dance is related to the intense preoccupation with spatial relations, above all in public situations. Other Indonesians as well as outsiders notice the importance of 'performance' in Javanese style, making a good impression, fitting into the situation and so forth, but this varies, and manifests intensively in what might be called pĕndhapa events, public occasions, which may be ceremonies associated with rites of passage (circumcision, marriages, funerals) or one's professional standing, held, if the host is wealthy and traditionalist, in the front part of his house, the pĕndhapa, which is also where dancing takes place.[2]

The particulars of this will be returned to below (Sections [iii] and [iv]), but the question to be asked here is, how is the concern with orientation in dance manifested in other areas of activity?

The simple answer lies in the phrase ĕmpan-papan, a version of 'knowing one's place', but with denser associations which have accrued through usage and identification.

Papan (place) is used as a verb in dance: mapan. Ĕmpan-papan was described as "code" by one Javanese linguist, although there are many terms for behaviour in Javanese which could be so glossed. Another suggested "to see the place and adjust to the place", which is a better description. In Javanese it is difficult to isolate terms for morality from terms for physical actions (Weiss 1979), and ĕmpan-papan is no exception; sometimes it is used synonymously for a very commonly used expression, tatakrama, which although not cited as

such in Geertz's study, would be subsumed under his somewhat stretched use of the term "etiquette" (1960:241-8). Such a gloss of tatakrama would fail to express what it shares with ĕmpan-papan, a strategic intentionality.[3] A recent commentator on the crisis of Javanese values today has made an observation which is of relevance to the ideas of mapan, ĕmpan-papan, and takakrama:

> ...the category of right place has the greatest significance for the Javanese. Wellbeing depends on whether he finds the place or whether he is in place there. The right place is the one where he does not collide with anyone or anything. For the Javanese, to attempt to achieve the right place is of priority and vital; in the right place he will most certainly be slamĕt (in a state of wellbeing) (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:94, my translation).[4]

It should be noted here that lĕnggah, ' to sit', is used synonymously with mapan and also applies to how someone fills a dramatic role. There is thus the sense of 'having a purchase on', or 'appropriating', and as such, the place of tatakrama in this cluster of terms is indicative of it denoting not only the show which is etiquette, but also the foreknowledge to put on such a show.[5]

Prince Suryobrongto, formerly responsible for palace protocol, provided an account of tatakrama which is more purist and systematic than those of people with less professional interests, in which four elements are included: gestures (trapsila); politeness, attitude (subasita); language use (unggah-ungguh); and keeping one's word (udha nĕgara),[6] adding that, "The four tatakrama all come into dance". In this formulation one might note how an individual brings to bear his or her own concerns. In this case the speaker is concerned with both honour and education, and also allows for the interests and expectation of the listener. Information is rarely given as independent

of or formulated in advance of the utterance which includes this latter, but is more a matter of shaping various available materials (tatakrama, udha nĕgara, etc.) to the situation. The connection between ĕmpan-papan, mapan, and tatakrama is not the only possible one, but it is not impossible, and more possible than others, in view of informant approval. One could say that the matter of ĕmpan-papan makes it categorically impossible for a speaker to define it in Javanese, the fact of statements being bound and contingent on the listener being included in the principle itself (see Chapters VI and VII also).[7]

Having for now drawn together somewhat tenuously the notion of place in dance and polite interactions, it is necessary to elaborate the relation between these ideas and ideals of behaviour and the ideas of the palace. It should be noted that cara jawa entails all of these, being a phrase implying not only the control of language levels and the use of basa (krama plus honorifics), but also of what it takes to be Javanese. A brief point needs to be made about this before proceeding to the discussion of the palace, as what it is to be Javanese is often raised in ethnography, and can lead to misunderstanding.[8]

It is often claimed that to be Javanese is to enter a state from which children under the age of five, foreigners, and the insane, are excluded (Geertz 1961); these categories of people are ' durung jawa', 'not [yet] Javanese', the absolute negative being avoided as far as possible in speech.[9]

What might this mean? What might 'being Javanese' be? Recent work has shown that group names often mean 'human being', 'person'. The sense of these terms as categories should not be assumed to carry across cultures. Lengthy discussions with people of different age

groups in Yogyakarta showed how jawa has a strongly idealised connotation, rather than being a simple tribal designation (which was noted by one person), a designation which is complicated by the fact of national (and thus political) identity entailed in being Indonesian. Much confusion emerged in discussion, with one group of young men born in Yogyakarta of Javanese parents declaring that they didn't feel they were Javanese, lacking as they claimed the grounds in knowledge and competence in the fields of language, music, and other traditions. Older more self-assured (sic) people who had links to the palace, by marriage or experience, used another term to discuss the problem, njawani, which is often negatively attributed: "to act/go about like a Javanese" (bertindak seperti orang Jawa B.I.), i.e., putting on airs. An extreme version of this is the almost proverbial plaint that the Javanese themselves (like the young men above) no longer know their own customs and civilisation: "Wong Jawā wis ora njawani" (Suryadi 1981:225), the term here used in a positive sense.

It is clear that Javaneseness is not a state to which one is born, but lies rather in what one controls and knows. 'Durung jawa' was explained as "That means not being able to think yet. That's different from 'durung wong Jawa' (not yet a Javanese person)! It means that you don't yet know the meaning (tĕgĕs)". Durung here thus has a rather subtle sense, perhaps implying here that one may be in a condition of becoming what one is predestined to become - a kind of entelechy, possible. Ora jawa is a saying which means someone who doesn't know 'order' (tata) (cf. also Geertz 1961:105).

To put it another way, a person who is still deficient in the experience which will develop the capacity to adjust to a place, and

participate in appropriate forms of collusion classed as tatakrama and ĕmpan-papan. While there may be deficiencies at the levels of speech and action, often expressed as a lack of consideration, the lack of competence is not treated as essential. As one informant put it, "The elements are there, the 'way' isn't yet" (unsuripun wontĕn, caranipun dereng). Or, to take up an idea suggested earlier, the actualisation has yet to be achieved, but the potential is there.

This demonstrates further cara jawa as a structure of identifications or knowledge, encompassing as it does what amounts to a way of being and acting which is desirable here being Java, and suggests the broadest gloss as 'the means to (cara) the good (jawa)'.[10] The connotations become denser in the term kĕjawen, first used of appanages held by the Javanese under Dutch colonisation (Van Mook 1959:277), and today, among others, to kĕbatinan, commonly 'Javanese mysticism', more appropriately 'Javanese psychology', the most esoteric and complex expression of cara jawa. In these terms then, Java becomes the ideal space or place for action, with sense being inscribed in place (compare to the meanings of the French sens: 'sense' and 'direction': Barthes, cited in Sturrock 1979:70).

(ii) The Place of the King

A link has now been established between ideas of value and behaviour, expressed by means of the idiom of place, placing, being in place. However, it has also become apparent that the place is not necessarily one of full presence, or attainment, but more of potential, a projection by which an evaluation is made possible. This idea will be taken up later, but now it is necessary to consider one very

important place, that of the king. This is a place which is not only good for controlling - models of power are an important way in which the palace has been classified - but also as good for thinking.[11] For the time being, the relations between power and thinking will be left open. Firstly, I will discuss the way in which the palace of Yogyakarta and its Sultan have been classified in order to fit into a broad theoretical model, and then move away from this image to other instances of how this is explained. It will emerge that for the palace to be incorporated into a comparative model, certain features not only have to be excluded, or happen to be ignored, but that other features have been treated as essential to the palace, in order to convert it into an example of a general model.

Accounts of Central Javanese courts such as that of the Sultan in Yogyakarta often presuppose the kind of elements or structural criteria discussed by Heine-Geldern in his survey of Indic models of state and kingship in South East Asia (1942). Models of power for central Java have been presented in terms of a king sitting at the centre, ruling by default as it were, while the realm is conceived of as ever-widening circles with ever-diminishing actual power in terms of administration (Moertono 1968; cf. the case for Bali, Geertz 1980). While there is disagreement over particulars and generalities even, it is striking how contagious and pervasive such notions are, invariably featuring in simplifications or general statements.[12] Also incorporated is the idea of power based on the fusion of the male and female principles, a power centre thus being conceived as the lingga in the yoni, where opposites meet in a controlled and creative way.[13]

How does the Kasultanan fit this model? Does it satisfy all the requirements in a coherent fashion? This is a modern palace, built from 1756, but there isageneral opinion that it is designed along the lines of the old (kuna) palaces of Java, notably that of fourteenth-century Majapahit in East Java, a pre-Islamic kingdom. The Kasultanan, in spite of the prevalent ideology of differentiation from Surakarta, is also the 'son' of the Kasunanan palace (Behrend 1984:31). The mosque in the Tamanan part of the palace, it is hazarded, is from the Majapahit period (Pradjaradjasa 1953).

The Kasultanan is not a homogenised and enclosed space, but an area which varies in density and hermetic occlusion. It is situated between two rivers to east and west, the Code and the Winanga, and further afield, between the mountain, the volcano Mĕrapi to the north, and the Java Sea to the south. At its greatest extent it stretches seven-and-a-half kilometres from the Krapyak (hunting lodge) in the south, to the Tugu (see below) in the north (Fig.2). However, there is a smaller space designated as the palace district (daerah kraton) which is four square kilometres, enclosed on three sides and partially on the fourth by a fortification three-and-a-half metres high and three to four metres thick, and there also used to be a moat outside this. The area within this fortification is referred to as 'inside the fort' (jĕro beteng), and (as already discussed in Chapter I), is subject to special regulations, and still bears a close relation to the palace. For within the fort through its centre from south to north is the series of courtyards, gateways, grass squares and trees which form the palace complex proper (Fig.3). Within this kraton is the kĕdhaton, the actual house of the kin , and those of his spouses and children

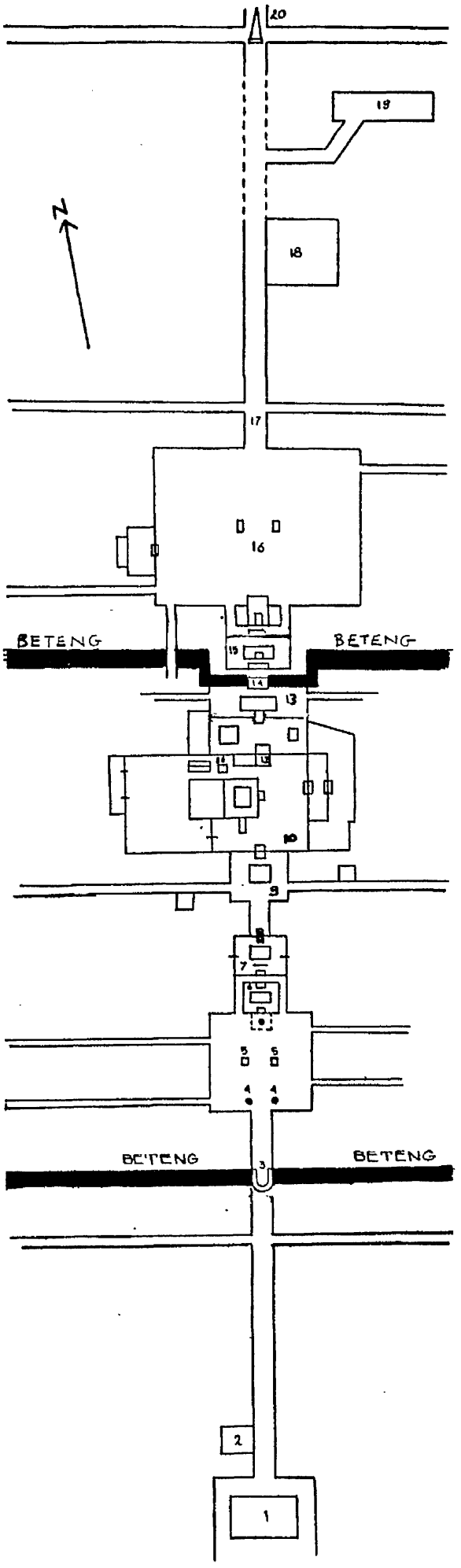
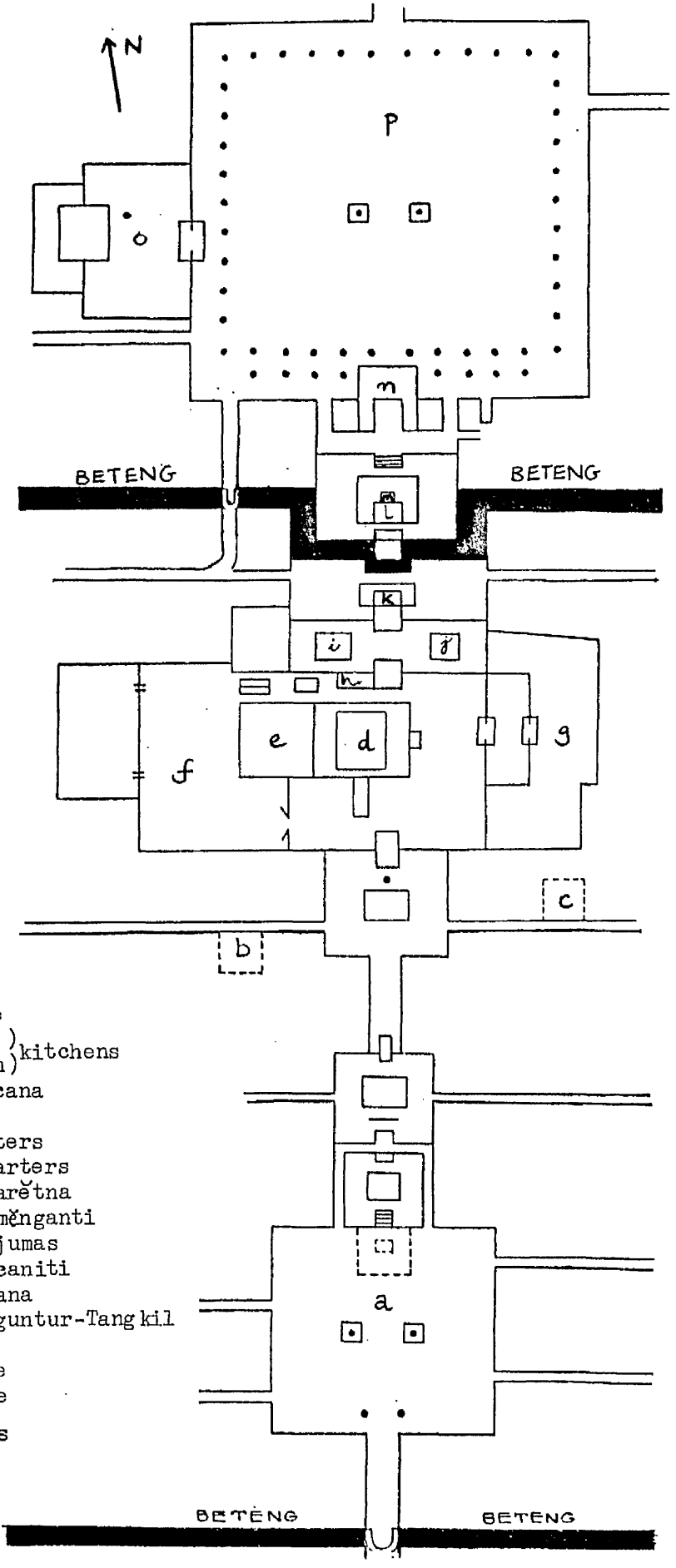


Fig.2. The Kasultanan: its greatest extent

Key

1. Gĕdhong Krapyak
2. Mijen
3. Nirbaya gate
4. Wok banyan trees
5. Sapit Urang banyan trees
6. South Siti Hinggil
7. South Kĕmandhungan
8. Gadhungmlathi gate
9. Kĕmagangan
10. Plataran Kĕdhaton
11. Gĕdhong Kuning
12. Danapĕrtapa gate
13. North Kĕmandhungan
14. Brajanala gate
15. North Siti Hinggil
16. Kyai Dewadaru and Kyai Danadaru banyan trees
17. Pĕngurakan
18. Bĕringhardja market
19. Kĕpatihan
20. Tugu

Fig.3. The Kasultanan: courtyards and squares



Key

a. South square
b. Gĕbulen)
c. Sĕkullanggĕn) kitchens
d. Bangsal Kĕncana
e. Prabayĕksa
f. Female quarters
g. Bachelor quarters
h. Gĕdhong Purwarĕtna
i. Bangsal Srimĕnganti
j. Bangsal Trajumas
k. Bangsal Pancaniti
l. Bangsal Witana
m. Bangsal Manguntur-Tangkil
n. Pagĕlaran
o. Great Mosque
p. North square
• Banyan trees

(some say kĕdhaton includes all the walled courtyards). Although the entire complex is on a north-south axis, the king's house faces to the east, a point which will be taken up again below (Section v), as the ways in which orientations of houses are attributed allow certain problems about orientational classifications in Java to surface.

It has already been noted that the word 'palace' is not a true match for kraton. This is because, "in Indonesian, it is no other than 'palace' (istana), but kraton is a palace which carries a religious, philosophical, and cultural meaning" (Mochtar 1982:114). The most obvious expression of this is the conception of the Sultan as Allah's regent (Kalifatullah), formally congruent with the idea of the Indic dewa-raja, king as incarnation of a god. In Yogyakarta, while the Sultan has as title Kalifatullah, in certain ceremonies, and in the palace's iconic imagery, he is the incarnation of Wisnu the Preserver, the wings of Wisnu's mount, the Garudha bird, being his emblem.

Although Javanese 'religion' is normally understood as 'syncretic' (Geertz 1960), suggesting a synthesis, the practice or use of different sets of references in these kingly identifications is less synthesised than adjacent. Palace ritual, such as washing heirlooms and the making of offerings for wellbeing, reeks of the "incense and flowers" which more orthodox Islamic people see as denoting a Javanese, not an Islamic, approach, even when used in ostensibly Islamic rites.[14] The Sultan is referred to and addressed as Gusti Ngarsa Dalĕm, a title also used of Allah. He fulfils this designation most completely when seated in contemplation (sĕmĕdhi) on the Singgasana throne, in the raised northern section of the palace, Siti Inggil ('High Ground')

(since HB VI: Pradjaradjasa 1953), in a building called Manguntur Tangkil (the place to contemplate, anangkil).

The Sultan is also enthroned here (Mochtar 1982:46-7, 52-3), and in this position (siniwaka) he manifests in principle his capacity to "preserve the world", evident in all the names of the four Javanese heads in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, all of whom either maintain or nail down. The fact that Sukarno was officially appointed first President of the Republic here in 1949 (Roem et al. 1982:284) is not without significance (see Chapter VIII).

Although the king is theoretically at the centre, it is important to stress that in practice the king was not ritualistically immured, and indeed, there is a ceremonial counterpart to siniwaka, that of the royal perambulation, kirab, performed by the present Sultan ten days before his enthronement in 1940, in the Golden Coach, a palace heirloom made in England. Once enthroned there are certain restrictions: the Sultan should not go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but should send instead a representative, if not a haji already (as is the present candidate to be Crown Prince). Indeed, the Siti Inggil is neither inside nor outside the inner palace, the fortification being to its south.

In this position, he looks between the two banyan (waringin) trees in the centre of the north square (alun-alun, also 'waves [of the sea]'), called 'light of man' and 'light of god' respectively to express the condition of contemplation, and frame its focus, the Tugu, Alif Muttakaliman Wachid, the point where man meets God (Brongtodiningrat 1975:20). The Sultan sees this and up and beyond Jalan Maliabara (see Carey 1984 for the significance of this name), past the main market and Kĕpatihan, to the Tugu and beyond that, to

the steaming blue cone of Mĕrapi which dominates the landscape. At other times the Tugu is seen as a lingga.[15] Other suggested that the two banyans represent this point (Mochtar 1982:115); others that they are the antipodes of micro and macro which are inseparable.

In the past one function of the Sultan in this position was to hear the appeal of suppliants who would stand between these trees, under the blazing sun, giving rise to their name, pe-pe, somewhat graphically, as something which is di-pe is dried out in the sun before being cooked (Mochtar 1982). On Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays, the Sultan used to hold audiences (paseban, from seba, 'presence'; also pasowan, from sowan, 'to visit', k.) (Moertono 1968:98). The Sultan also sat here during Garĕbĕg ceremonies (see Section iii below), but for the family rites conducted after the end of Pasa (Ramadan), the asking for forgiveness and the kissing of the knee (ngabĕkten), the Sultan sits in the pĕndhapa in his house, the Bangsal Kĕncana, where dance performances in the palace most often took place, until the present reign.

Today the Sultan neither arbitrates nor does he sit in contemplation. Instead, there is a curious display of life-size figures in the building, kneeling towards an empty seat, used as part of a permanent exhibition in the front part of the palace complex. The Sultan no longer resides permanently in Yogyakarta, although when he visits he stays in his traditional quarters, a lighted lamp showing his presence. His wives and some unmarried sons however do still live in the palace, for all or part of the time.

Until the reign of HBIX, the king did not govern as such. Administration was in the hands of the chief minister (Pĕpatih dalĕm

or Patih) who owed allegiance to both Sultan and the Dutch Governor-General. This point rankled with the present Sultan, whose enthronement was delayed due to unresolved wrangles with Governor Adam. The chief minister controlled a hierarchy through officials called Nayaka, four to deal with palace and town affairs, four to deal with the inner or core regions (Nĕgara Agung).[16] The Sultan was ritually forbidden to enter the seat of the Patih, the Kĕpatihan, sending the Trunajaya lance dancers to represent him in wedding formalities.

Events after HBIX's enthronement, the Japanese occupation in 1942, and the subsequent struggle for independence, the establishment of the Indonesian government in Yogyakarta in 1946, the Dutch retaking of the town in 1947, and its final release in March 1949, led to radical changes in the power structure; it has already been explained how Yogyakarta fulfils its title of 'Special Region'. There are to a certain extent similarities of reference to the Indic model, but these are often used too literally, so that instances are essentialised, and ideology is treated as historical fact (Moertono 1968; Selosoemardjan 1978).

It is salutary here to recollect ethnographic data east of Java which may be understood as providing an alternative focus, where political structures show a dual power centre, a division being made between practical and ideal authorities. The principle here is that the exigencies of wheeling and dealing and other political interactions may bring about a crisis of confidence in leadership, whereas through the ideal figure, authority becomes absolute, if abstract. (Van Wouden 1968:29-30, 82, 101-2, 139, 165; see also Winstedt 1925:41-2).

Local response to this ideology in Yogyakarta varies - there is a popular story about the Sultan driving a jeep incognito and giving a lift to a woman on her way to market, who fainted when she discovered who it was (Roem et al. 1982:227) - though his protracted absences from Yogyakarta and his marriage in 1982 to the adopted daughter(?) of his former associate Roem, has made tongues wag in Yogyakarta.[18] At the same time, however, the messianic idiom of the coming of the 'just king' (Ratu Adil) (Onghokham1983:Ch.3) inspired the comment that before this there are to be 'twin kings', and that the Sultan and the President fulfil this aspect of the prophecy; (the tone does vary, however!).

It is thus questionable whether Indic models should be understood as representing the palace and its Sultan in Yogyakarta in any essential way. It will be shown that while there are Indic identifications which accrue to the palace, many other classifications may also be understood as being actualised in the notion of kraton, including Islamic ones. In so far as certain imported models attribute to Javanese kingship and power an abstract and idealistic (or idealised quality), it is possible that this is expressive more of the way in which models may be constructed than of what was going on. This question will be taken up in Chapter VIII.

For now, it is necessary to explore further what the kraton, the palace, is, and how its dance forms are both constituted by this, and yet also help to constitute it. The following ethnographic materials will be shown as a demonstration of the density of identifications which may be enacted through the palace, but they will not attempt to create a notion of the palace as a context. Apart from the changing

conditions and identifications of the palace over the past forty years, and the way in which memories and histories cut across contemporaneity to make for even denser possibilities for classification and explication (see Chapter VIII), the theoretical usefulness of 'context' has been challenged on the grounds that what forms a context may be little more than the circumstantial conglomeration of perspectives which are subject to whims and bias (Hobart 1985). The use of the term 'identifications' here is in part to avoid problems of specifying what a context might be in view of the figurative and interpretative elements which will be shown to be available options, if not necessarily and continually used or perceived by people in Yogyakarta.

The first stage will be to consider what the geographical location of the palace and certain practices associated with it suggest about the significance of its orientations, and how these may be classed, or indeed, identified.

(iii) Cosmological Inscriptions, Locational Bearings

In the opening of this chapter I referred to binarism and the five-four system of classification. If one is considering orientations in Java, it is necessary to say more about the latter.

Throughout Java there exists a complex classificatory structure which is usually referred to as the five-day market week (pasaran), but which may equally well be the seven-day week (see Appendix 4). These structures using variables such as cardinal points, colours and so forth, allow divinatory statements to be made, and are usually found in published almanacks (primbon). It is important to notice here that whichever particular variable elements enter the classifications

depends on the particular divinatory requirement, and that the geomantic-style use of orientations as such are highly underdetermined, gaining significance both in relation to what is being asked, and the other variables. Courses of action which may be established include such things as the auspicious day to start a journey to the north; where and when a house might be built; which way its garden gate should face; and, given the birthdates of the couple, the best time for making love (Sumintardja 1974; Anjasmara 1979; Tjakraningrat 1982).

Such classifications have been understood to represent the five-four structure (Pigeaud 1977), first formulated by van Ossenbruggen (1977). Following Durkheim and Mauss's theory that classifications reflect social structures, he attempted to show that the macapat system, where four villages cluster around one in the centre, provides the basic structuring principle in Java.[19] However, in view of their usage in divination, such classifications have tended to be treated essentially and conjecturally, as in the analysis of the roles for masked dancers in plays using Paṅji stories (Pigeaud 1938:357, 378-9). In a popular Yogyakarta almanac , there are five classes of person: bureaucrat, merchant, merchant (narakati), farmer, and king, which may be related to Pigeaud's group of five while not being identical to the professions of the sons of Kandihawan. These five classes feature in a divinatory table in which correlations are established between the type, where a pregnant woman has an itch, and on what day (Tjakraningrat 1982:222).

This classificatory system became caught up in the questions concerning the extent of Indic influence in Java. Van Ossenbruggen had claimed that the system was indigenous, as did Pigeaud after him

(1977:79). With regard to a concomitant system, the nine-five structure based on eight cardinal points plus centre, similar conclusions have been reached (Damais 1969, with reference to colour classifications).

One might note here that in Java in 1983 the number nine appears important not as an Indic reference, but because of its role in Islamic mysticism (Tasawuf): there are nine sages who brought Islam to Java (Wali Sanga), nine rice mountains at the Garĕbĕg ceremonies held at the oldest Javanese mosque, in Dĕmak, and also, there are nine bĕdhaya.

It should also be emphasised that such structures as emerge are not necessarily general. The nine-five system in Bali nawa sanga (nine deities), is understood to be a Hindu inheritance (an idea often fed back to Java); however, the complete Balinese system comes to eleven, with the addition of nadir and zenith.[20]

Pigeaud has observed of the four-five classifications that "The present-day Javanese have forgotten many of these correspondences" (1977:73). It might, however, be that such associations do not exist as cultural objects in the minds of people who might, however, have recourse to them for specific reasons. Goody's arguments (1977) concerning the misleading way in which tabulation (itself a kind of classification) suggests homogeneity, regularity, and by implication, continuous consciousness of, might be remembered here. Quite apart from this however, there is the problem about how variables within a structure such as the four-five one (and one must admit that such a grouping does recur), may be understood to relate to each other, and be reified into a classification. This may be illustrated simply in terms of questions of translation with reference to the comments made by

Duyvendak about one element in the classification based on the five-day market week: "South is red, it is Paing; Paing is money" (1935:113). Problems arising for English (and Dutch) language users concerning the relation expressed in the 'is' do not arise in Javanese (or Indonesian), the Javanese for "south is red" being simply 'south red' (kidul abang). The relation is simply one of adjacency. All too often Westerners fill the space (or create one which needs to be filled) by introducing the term 'symbolises'. This, along with the use of the copula 'is', misrepresents and essentialises a relation which in Javanese is a conjoining contingent on a specific use (i.e., a particular question requiring divinatory tactics). There is no necessary and fixed correspondence between the two elements. Needham has observed of one example of the five-four classification that "of one member of a class it can be said it 'is' one or another member; but beyond this statement the source offers no ground to infer that there is any common feature that unites, e.g., east, reserved food, verandah, and propitious..." (1979:64), although his initial statement itself is not without problems (see further for a Balinese case Hobart 1985b). Indeed, questions about predication and equivalence in relation to 'truth' need to be considered, as they will be in Chapter VI.

While there is a tendency to recognise particularity in the matter of classifications, for example in the discussion of five-soul models (pañcatma) in Bali as they feature in different manuscripts (Teeuw and Robson 1981:27-31), and perhaps even a return to the reluctance to collate regions, as demonstrated in the work of Van Hien (n.d.), there are still very general problems which remain in talking about classification, and also about translation.

Mindful, then, of some of these problems and also points raised in the introduction to this chapter, the palace's position in a local cosmology may now be considered. The practices discussed here are those which go outside the palace, involve ritual offerings, and thus provide instances of how correspondences are made between orientations, the palace, and other variable criteria.

Once a year, on the Sultan's Javanese birthday, offerings are made on land and water (sadran, labuhan); the biggest offering, made every eight years in the year Dal, is said by the Sultan to cost five million rupiah (Mochtar 1982:103). What associations are entailed in these offerings? To whom are they made? And where?

Different sources vary, even recently, showing perhaps that there is a flexibility in the way in which 'traditions' are practised, though such variation will be dissimulated. Expenditure and ritual formality also denote the seriousness with which these rites are taken. Offerings from the palace go north to Mĕrapi, it is said to the gods and ancestors; and south, to the watery realm of the Sultan's spirit wife, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, Queen of the spirits of the south sea. These two poles are highly motivating factors in local cosmology, and conceptually are very dangerous.[21] To be ascribed with mastery over them, or the capacity to mediate their danger and neutralise it, is clearly to enhance one's legitimacy - a view which many people in Yogyakarta are well aware of. None the less, fear remains, and while the rationale of realpolitik may explain, it still lacks the power to overcome the sense that these figures (and figments) have come to have - not only for Javanese but also for foreigners who become caught up in the atmospherics of these mythologies.

The local paper reported on the offerings made in 1983, naming as recipients Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul[22] in the south, Ĕmpu Rama, Ĕmpu Rachmadi,[23] Kyai Sapujagad,[24] Krincingwĕsi, Brajangkawat, Sapuangin, Mbokajĕng Kĕmbangsari, Nyai Gadhungmlathi, and Kyai Mĕgotoro in the north; Sri Sunan Lawu I, Prabu Brawijaya V, and Sri Sunan Lawu II to the north east (to Mount Lawu, beyond Surakarta); and to an unamed figure at the pool of Dlĕpih, near Wonogiri, also to the north east (Tim Kedaulatan Rakyat 1983).[25] Other sources suggest that it is Nyai Widanangga[26] who receives here, that it is a meeting place of Sultan Agung and Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul.

Yogyakartan ideas about north and south are considered below. As for the other two locations where offerings are made, less is known about them, and it is sometimes claimed that the offering to Lawu is made by the Susuhunan on the Sultan's behalf (Headley 1979), and that the Dlĕpih offering is only made in Dal years (Bigeon 1982:117). It should be noted of the Lawu offerings that Brawijaya V, the last king of the Hindu-Buddhist empire of Majapahit is believed to have fled there, routed by his son Raden Patah who subscribed to Islam, and offerings are made to him in his capacity as ancestor of the Mataram line.

The omission of west, and the conversion of east to north east is supprising, though east may be said to be implied. The Susuhunan of Surakarta (and indeed the other two princes in Yogyakarta and Surakarta) also make offerings, and there was a former cult to the west, to Kangjĕng Ratu Sĕkarkĕdaton, now obsolete (Hadiwidjojo 1972:129). An offering to the north from the Susuhunan is made on the last day of the very inauspicious first month of the Javanese year, Sura, in the

forest of Krĕndhawahana to a recipient said variously to be Sang Hyang Pramoni (Durga) (Headley 1979:244) or Bathari Kalayuwati (Durga's daughter) (Handipaningrat 1982). In this maesa lawung ceremony, an unleashed (lawung) buffalo (maesa) is slaughtered in the Siti Inggil of the Kasunanan according to Islamic custom, and two cups of the blood are taken to the forest with other offerings which are put in water (Hadiwidjojo 1972: Headley 1979).[27] This rite has been compared to the Indic Gramawedha, a prototype for the village cleansing ceremonies, (bĕrsih desa) which usually happen before harvest (Handipaningrat 1982). It is possible that the proceedings in the village of Ambarkĕtawang may perhaps be the Yogyakartan version of this ritual.[28]

Figures receiving the offerings appear to reduplicate or associate, and it is probably not relevant to the spirit in which these are made to probe too literally into the details. The labuhan to the south is certainly the most powerful and popular offering, and the site is frequented throughout the year on auspicious days (eves of Tuesday and Friday Kliwon: Monday and Thursday nights) by people from all over Central Java. As will be seen later, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul is also associated with the Bĕdhaya dance form.

The question of an identification of the north with Durga in the Surakartan offering needs further comment. This may best be approached by first examining the north-south axis of the Kasultanan complex in Yogyakarta, as used in an explanatory model in a text by the late dance expert of the palace, GBPH Brongtodiningrat (1975, 1978).

The model refers to a system of loka , associated with spirits (ĕndraloka), men (janaloka), and gods (guruloka)[29] which is identified with the position of the palace on the south-north axis. In keeping

with its religio-philosophical significance mentioned above, the palace is understood (by those interested in such things) as a "set of signs" (sasmita, alamat: the latter used in Indonesian as 'where one lives, address').[30] "The architecture of the kraton consists of images and symbols of the birth and forming of a human" (Brongtodiningrat 1975:9-11). In this model, the palace is read from south to north, starting with the "genesis of a human" from the "prototypic soul" (ingsun), which meets the generative seed and is born as it passes through the Gadhungmlathi gate in the palace (see Figure 3).

Each courtyard is ascribed a "rank" (pangkat), as a prince put it, but the interpretation does not run sequentially to incorporate the northern part of the palace up to the Tugu in an association with what one might expect to be death, given the link of the south with birth or genesis and also through the Surakartan link with Durga, a death goddess, and the north. Instead, the northern part of the palace is interpreted with reference to the relation of the king to his subjects, specifically with regard to where the king goes, and where the 'rice mountains' (gunungan), the focus of the Garĕbĕg ceremonies, go, accompanied by the palace soldiers.

To understand such palace identifications, a little more should be said here about the Garĕbĕgs and the rice mountains. These are classed into various types, Male (Jalĕr), Female (Wadon, Wajik), Daratan, Gĕpak, (which has the most delicious food in it), and Pawuhan (= kitchen). Structurally, these mountains may be related to the little rice cones (tumpĕng) which are cut to open community or group offerings made for wellbeing (slamĕt, hence the term slamĕtan, or wilujĕngan k.), of which the Garĕbĕg is one variety (Groneman 1895:39); it has also been

characterised as the biggest audience, the great pasowanan (Moertono 1968). When the mountains have been taken through the palace from the Kĕmagangan courtyard to the north, the procession stops south of the twin banyans, and turns to the mosque in the west, where, in the first courtyard, the mountains are set down and demolished by the awaiting crowds. This suggests itself as a form of 'eating the king', but locally it is understood as partaking of the king's blessing (hajat dalĕm).[31]

What has happened in this interpretative shift is a kind of switchback operation. To understand this, it helps to see the way in which palace architecture is read in terms of 'memory theatre'. This is a term applied to phenomena originating in Greece, recurring in Roman and Renaisaance times, in which various data may be remembered by being classified according to the structure of a building (Yates 1966: especially the diagram of Camillo's Memory Theatre, opposite 144). The way in which significance is given to the iconography of the Kasultanan may be illuminated (if not identified or compared directly to the cases discussed by Yates) as a form of memory theatre which enables certain processes to be made sense of and remembered. In Javanese metaphysics, 'remembering' can be synonymous with or implying 'awareness' (see Chapter VII). One of the things the palace helps to be remembered is that "mankind loves and puts itself in the hands of the lord" (Mochtar 1982:114), or, concerning the twenty sections of the palace as shown in the diagram (see Figure 2), "They symbolise the twenty adherent characters of God, to strengthen one belief in him and adoring him" (Brongtodiningrat 1975:23). The passage is not simply divided into two, from south to centre, from centre to north.

At the end of Garĕbĕg, the king would return to the palace - said to be like the soul being guided to heaven. Although it is possible to make a diagrammatic sketch of the palace in metaphorical geography, interpretative strategies and classifications are not consistent or monothetic. The birth and formation of a human, the king's traditional role in Garĕbĕg (the present Sultan does not usually participate), or whenever he sits in Siti Inggil, and his re-entry inside the palace, rather than being treated as straightforward narrative structures, are simultaneous and synonymous options which point to a single end, although they involve displacement in figurative terms. As will be explained later, 'symbol' (or simbol B.I.) tends to indicate aspects of something, rather than comprehensive and autonomous figurative representations which stand homologously to the object referred to - in this case God or Allah. The strategy of using imagery as a mnemonic may be understood as one symptom of a preoccupation with "sangkan paraning dumadi" (whence and whither),[32] a phrase which already noted, recurs with alarming diversity of significance and application, but finally boils down to ways of talking about the One - who by definition is beyond sense and language.

Actions suggest that there are instances of the cosmology being taken literally (more literally). The circumambulation of the fortification on auspicious nights, though less common today, so that the soul does not get lost at death, is one example. This bears a relation to another kind of communication at the other end of human existence. As the pregnant woman is said to teach her child before birth as it meditates in the womb, so the soul is instructed in its own path before it separates from the mortal body.

This path, as shown, is figurative, embodying certain moral and spiritual ideas. Indeed, the north appears to have a connection not with death but with a 'high point' of perception (north is congruent with the mountain in Yogyakarta after all), contemplation and communication with God. This may be associated with a long-standing problem about orientations to illustrate an interesting detail about how classifications operate. Pigeaud's survey of the five-four classification indicates a prevalence in the identification of north with the god Wisnu (1977). He also notes that the O.J. text Tantu Panggĕlaran identifies the north with Durga (1977:69). In the Prambanan temple to the east of Yogyakarta, Durga (as Lara Janggrang) faces north in her own temple, her breasts black and shiny from the caressing palms of women anxious to bear children. Wisnu's temple occupies the northern site. It is clear that Durga here has associations also with fertility, not simply death.

It is possible that the surviving Surakartan rite described is an indication of pre-Islamic activities, which were displaced by its notoriously patriarchal bias, or possibly an earlier displacement of Shaivism by Waisnavism (Zoetmulder 1968). And although non-Javanists might consider it equally bizarre to have an identification of an ostensibly Islamic king with Wisnu, let alone any other Hindu deity, this makes sense for those familiar with the region, as yet another case of adjacency or stratification which yields options for how names are given.

Ambiguity about the north is also expressed in orientations of houses. Pigeaud notes that houses usually orientate from north to south, but not the older houses in Surakarta, which shows how influence

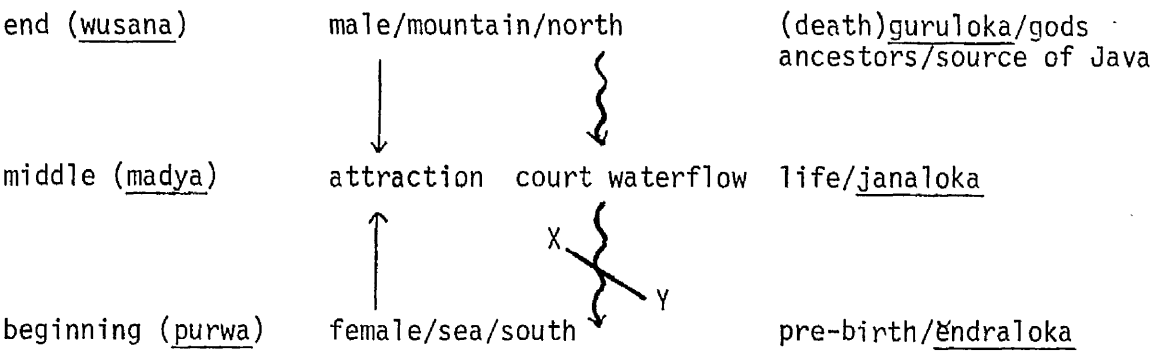
from the north is still considered to be unfavourable (1977: 73; see also Mellema 1954). Although this seems odd as the palace in Yogyakarta initially appears to be orientated on a north-south axis, the position of the puppeteer in the shadow play, facing west, testifies to the status of the Bangsal Kĕncana as being the front part of the king's house which faces to the east, not to the north (see further, Section iv below). In ensuing literature, however, classifications have become confused.[33]

Palace ideas about death should be noted here. The spirit is believed to go south at death, and when a Sultan dies, for the first time in his existence, he uses the south gate Nirbaya to go to Imagiri, to the south-east, the burial site of Maratam kings established by Sultan Agung,[34] and to which living Sultans are forbidden to go (Mangungpranota 1982:217). As far as there is an ambiguity in the association of the north with gods and the sense of a progression, albeit metaphorical, from south to north - though the 'water flows' notion and a preference for cyclical patterns should not be forgotten - Imagiri, while being in the south, is a mountain (giri: 'mountain'), and may be associated with the north, not for its geographical position, but by virtue of its mountainness (compare the case in Bali: Hobart 1978).

What is also clear is that interpretations form historical strata, but their practice is not restricted to the most recent layer, hence the lingering of the unfavourable around the north, which in metaphysics has been displaced, moving from literal death to a special kind of awareness (see the links of this with death in Chapter VII).

This may be expressed in tabular form (Figure 4), with the addition of an association of loka with the sequence of beginning, middle and end.[35]

Figure 4: Identifications of the Palace



⟶ : mythically posited line of attraction.

⇝ : actual waterflow

X-Y : path of Sultan's body, from X, Plĕngkung Nirbaya, to Y, Imagiri.

The diagrammatic presentation, in spite of ambiguities (or multiple references), does show how the Sultan and the palace (wherever one draws its boundaries) may be understood as a neutralising trope, a location which is conceived of as being capable of absorbing danger, or keeping elements which meet separate, or converted by being processed; one idiom for this is the sexual, another the ritual as in Garĕbĕg and Labuhan. The Sultan thus has extra resources to ensure that the preconditions for effective processes such as growth etc. are maintained - the means of production, and exchange systems, it should be remembered, till his death in August 1945 were in the hands of the chief minister (Ricklefs 1981:207). The Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta was officially democratised in October 1945.

One might also remember that the Garĕbĕg ceremonies served as the king's audience par excellence, being the maximal occasion for administrators and siblings holding lands far afield (only before 1830) to come and pay allegiance to the Sultan - at some inconvenience to themselves (Nakamura 1983:26-7). There is thus a sense of neutralisation of political conflict also, which again stands in relation to the community slamĕtan, which may be understood to arise as "a response to conflict rather than an expression of a prior state of harmony", serving as a "ritual validation for cliques" (Dewey 1970: 442, 447). This view is developed in Chapter VIII.

Placation then may be understood as a motif which repeats on different levels (social, psychological, spiritual). The palace in these terms might be understood less as a bounded zone (boundaries as already pointed out being negotiable) than as a zone of process which neutralises actively dangerous forces, through the idioms of conjunction (see below), distribution, and purification. On different levels also it can incorporate and hold down the world, but also prevents by separation the interlocking of different spheres, the mountain and the sea, which would be fatal.

One strategically graphic example is HBI's early architectural project, the harnessing of the waterflow to create the Waterpalace (Tamansari: 'flower garden'), located to the south-west of the central palace complex. HBI used this place as a retreat when his sons grew too argumentative, and also to meet his oceanic mate, and more earthly ladies also. Today the complex is drained and houses a community of bathik painters, but it is still a choice site for meditation and is considered to be haunted (wingit). A tunnel, now blocked, leads from

a three-tiered circular meditation chamber to the coast, and a man who could endure the twenty-four kilometres underground is generally reckoned to have deserved the rewards of his endurance - a meeting with Kangjěng Ratu Kidul. Further comment on this kind of statement is reserved for Chapter VII.

Before proceeding, two approaches to classification on other regions of South East Asia might be noted. In Thailand, it has been argued that while the east-west axis is concerned with purity (east is for serpents, naga, and west for the ancestors), the north-south axis is identified with power (north being up, and south down): the north-east is the most favourable cardinal point. South to north is also understood as the direction of increasing power (Turton 1978:120), a formulation which is suggestive of the way in which this axis is treated in Yogyakarta.

The two axes as identified in Bali have likewise been separated, but the identifications appear to be the reverse of those adumbrated for the Thai case. Thus, the east-west axis is understood to link "a natural process with a biological (and cultural) one", while the north-south axis "relates a natural process to purity, which is in no sense a natural condition" (Hobart 1978:20).

The case for Yogyakarta will not resolve itself in such terms, and indeed, as presented will possibly move further from the idea of coherence and relation than is demonstrated in these two examples. However, what the above examples and the Yogyakartan material suggest is the approach to classifications advocated by Needham:

> Instead of a fixed order of generality, there is what Dumézil has called a 'classificatory current'...in which various connections by analogy are made according to the perspectives in which they are viewed (1979:67).

(iv) Displacements

The above discussion shows it to be impossible to give any cardinal point a fixed set of ascriptions, which suggests that to speak of any Javanese classification system as essential is misleading. Even what has been described as the "nominal essence...what everyone knows" (Diffey 1973:119) seems absent, as illustrated by the case of the mountain and the north. Such identifications seem to be less about what everyone knows (or even what might be shared between a number of people), than what might might be known or used as an identification.

This may be illustrated further with reference to palace dance forms. It has already been observed that whether something is dance or not depends on its 'context'. As we have seen, what the context is cannot be answered simply. The question remains to be asked in this connection: in what way might orientational or cosmological identifications be taken up in these dance forms? Also, what might such identifications tell us about the position of the king, and the relation between him and his dancers?

Models of kingship such as those discussed above tend to throw up the image of the king surrounded by his dancers like a dewa-raja and his heavenly nymphs (sic). Such images feed on situations which are not found in Yogyakarta today. (Indeed, whether they ever were will need further elaboration later.) However, the ethnographer was fortunate enough to obtain an invitation to a ceremony held in the Kasunanan, Surakarta, in May 1983, to commemorate the enthronement of the Susuhunan in July 1945. It is at this annual ceremony that the full performance of the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang dance occurs. This is preceded by promotions of junior and senior palace officials - the

former, before the main ceremony begins, in the Bangsal Morokoto, the latter in the Sasana Sĕwaka. The dance is performed on completion of this court business.

Said to be the prototype of all subsequent Bĕdhaya, Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang is credited with having been performed by the Queen of the South Sea as an attempt to seduce Sultan Agung,[36] she then taught it to his ladies in the palace lest he pine for her (Hadiwidjojo 1981). This love dance is also distinguished by an unusual accompaniment.[37] Although accounts of the dance and procedure may be found in Tirtaamidjaja (1967), Anderson (1967), and Hadiwidjojo (1921, 1972, 1981), certain personal observations will assist the argument here.

Before the Susuhunan takes up his position on a throne to the west side of the four central pillars of the Sasana Sĕwaka, there is a long procession by members of the palace into the courtyard, the entire process taking, from the first music to the rapid dissolution of the company, about four hours.[38] Once everyone has taken his place, one has effectively a map of the palace hierarchy, determined by a principle of distance from the Susuhunan. He is seated at the central (and highest) level with honoured guests - today ambassadors, formerly high-level Dutch administrators - sons, and brothers. Behind him, on the lower Paringgitan in front of the Dalĕm Prabasuyasa where the bĕdhaya prepare and emerge from, sit his daughters and selected friends, in formal palace attire. In 1963 there were some eighty ladies here (Anderson 1967:64); in 1983 about ten. Facing him to the east sit the highest ranking officials, the Bupati and Riya. Down behind them are the lower ranks, and the palace grandchildren and great-grandchildren (see Tirtaamidjaja 1967:62), and on the same level, on the north side, the invited guests.[39]

As a map of the palace is formed, so the dancers take up formations, compared by some to the Pleiades (Kartika), according to Subagy (1981: 123), citing Hadiwidjojo.[40] This last author does, however, make certain assertions and arguments which in the Indonesian translation of his most recent discussion of the dance (1981) have been omitted, probably because the editors felt credibility would be lacking in the more neutral phrasings of Indonesian. Hadiwidjojo also suggests that the dance descends from temple dances along Indian lines, and that it moves around the Susuhunan in a clockwise circle (pradakshina). This is somewhat overstated, as the dancers make their entrance on the Susuhunan's left, on the north side of the floor, take up position to the east of the throne, beneath the centre of the building (ulĕng) stretching beyond it on either side. After the main sections of the dance, they exit to the south (the right) of the Susuhunan - to this extent is a circle made around him.

Hadiwidjojo is correct in his observations about the cosmological images of the kind and his many wives in the lyrics for the song.[41] As far as orientational matters go, one might expect the dance to reveal the relation to its alleged creator, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, whose direction is south, who is also said to attend the rehearsals of the dance throughout the year where at least seven dancers must attend (on Tuesday Kliwon, Anggarakasih), though in 1983 after the performance these were interrupted by the death of the Susuhunan's mother (in August), the week of complete rehearsals (gladhi), and the final performance, in which no dancer may be menstruating and before which all the dancers fast for a night. She then possesses one dancer, usually Endhel, who represents her in the love dance. Numerous prohibitions (larangan)

apply to Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, and this dance: to the use of a certain shade of green (ijo gading, gadhung mlathi) especially near the south sea; the humming of the dance melodies; making a clean copy of a dance manuscript - copies have to include mistakes (Kunst 1971); breach of purity by dancers; and obviously, the taking of photographs during performances.[42]

Formations have already been mentioned. It was observed that the long line formation in the lajuran section faced north (and had the Susuhunan on its left), only once, and that briefly. Apart from asymmetrical formations which face inwards to each other, in the lajuran, the dancers were usually facing to the south. Near the close of the final section the formations faced north, east, south, and then west, towards the Susuhunan, before reforming into the characteristic closing shape of three rows, to make the salutation (cf. Tirtaamidjaja 1967:54).[43] Whether one sees this limited use of the north as being a negative reference to Durga, or as a need to keep the Susuhunan to the right, it is hard to say. One might ask whether such literal manifestations of cosmological identifications should be expected. This has been normal in scholarship, but there is a case for arguing that to over-anticipate is to misjudge how the identifications hold together - which might not be all the time, or even at such grand occasions. Should a temporary place be chosen for subsequent Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang pending rebuilding, it would be interesting to see how it is oriented.

In Yogyakarta, productions nowadays usually take place out of the Bangsal Kĕncana, and the Sultan did not attend any performances in 1983, though on his birthday his portrait was present; the dancers

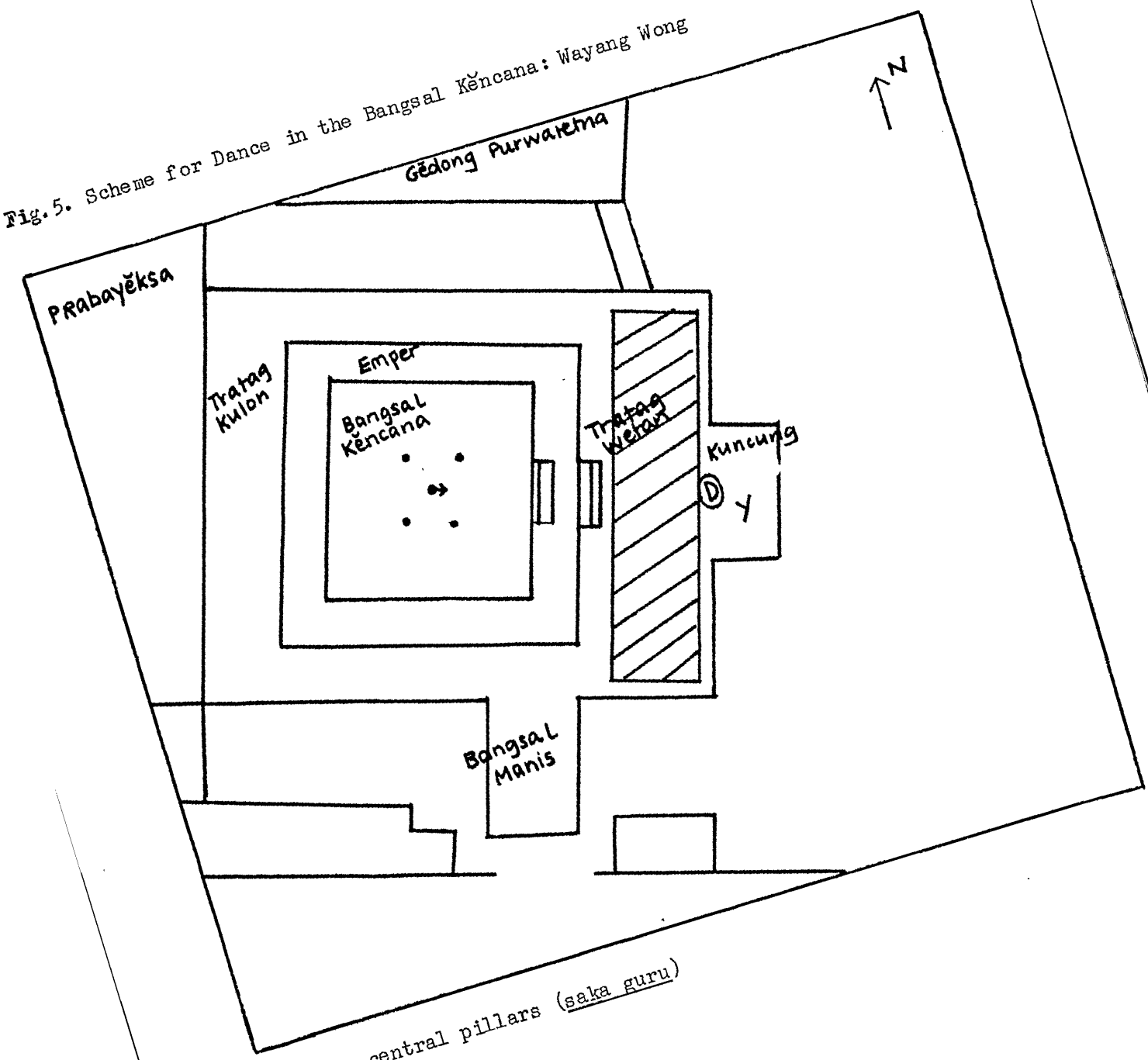
danced with their backs to it, making their initial salutation facing the important members of the audience seated facing south.

Some informants, however, recalled how performances were laid out under HBVIII, the Wayang Wong in particular, which has been proposed as State Ritual and thus the true concomitant to Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang (Holt 1967; Soedarsono 1984), though there is certainly less superstition about it than the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang and Bĕdhaya Sĕmang. Be that as it may, the Sultan's position was clear: at the centre of the building between the four pillars, facing ease (Holt 1967:157, Fig.7; see Fig.5 below) incarnated as Wisnu, the start of the play at six o'clock in the morning (sunrise) being part of this identification (Soedarsono 1984).[44]

The case for Bĕdhaya performances in the Bangsal Kĕncana is much less clear. It was suggested that before HBVII's reign, bĕdhaya performed on the sand to the east of the Bangsal Kĕncana, where the stage is now. Informants kindly provided me with diagrams at different times, but when these were compared, there was little consensus about where the Sultan sat, which way he faced, or where the dance occurred in relation to the centre of the building. Was it occupied by the Sultan, as in Wayang Wong? By the dancers, as in Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang? Or left empty?

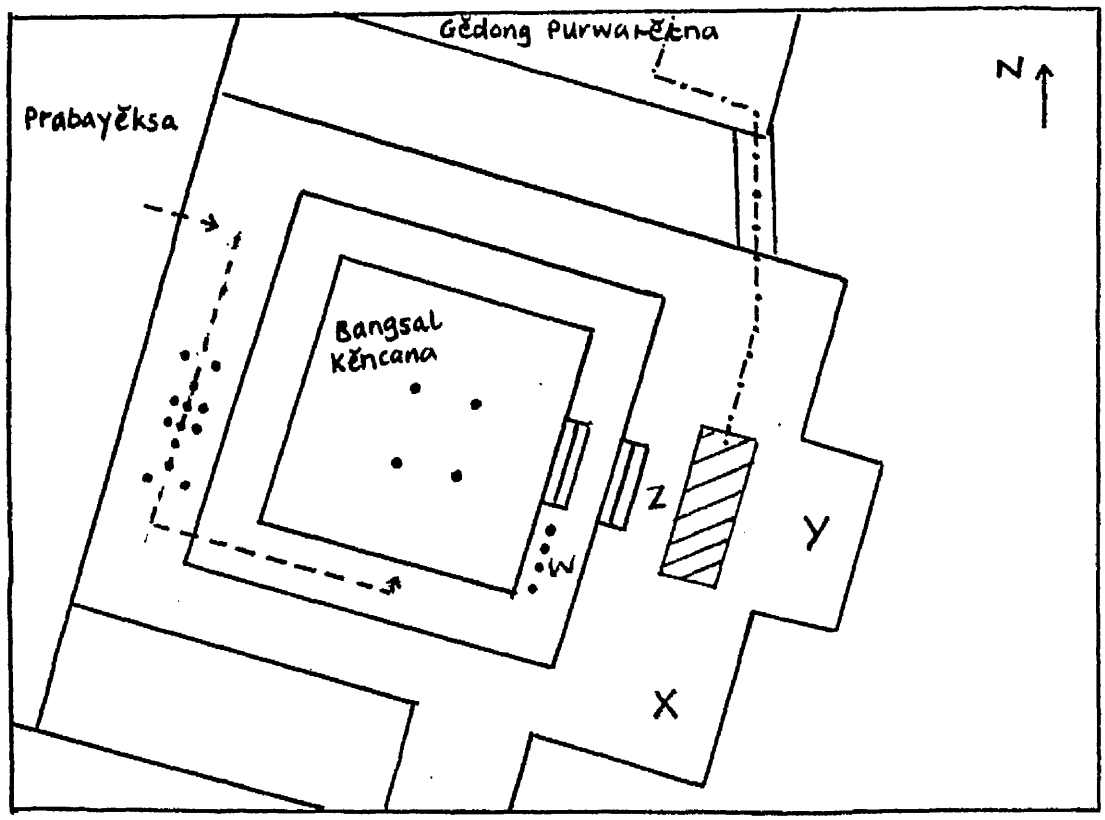
While there seemed a notion that the Sultan occupied the centre of the building (Fig.6a), it transpired that whereas this was quite certain in cases of performance of Wayang Wong (Fig.5), it was never the case for Bĕdhaya. What was the case, however, created problems, as there was no single response. Prince Suryobrongto suggested that the Sultan sat behind the north-west pillar, saying that for the

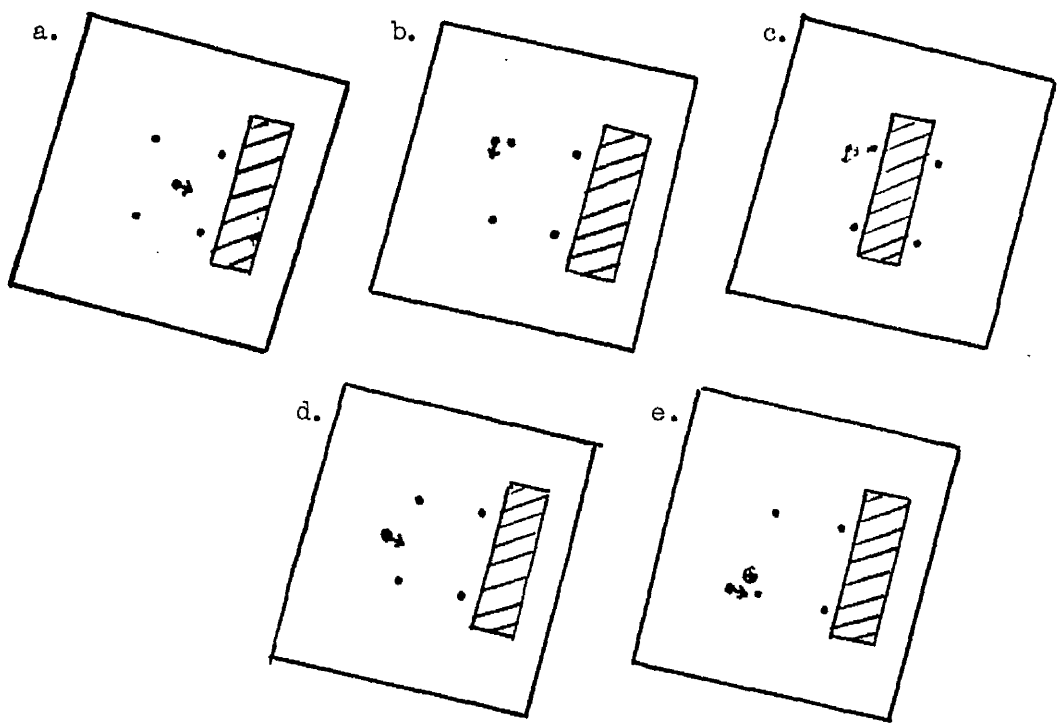
Fig. 5. Scheme for Dance in the Bangsal Kĕncana: Wayang Wong



Key: • central pillars (saka guru)
Sultan
dance area
D: dhalang
Y: musicians and singers

Fig.6. Schema for Dance in the Bangsal Kĕncana: Bĕdhaya





Key:
- • central pillars
- ➔ Sultan
- ---- path of female bĕdhaya and attendents (kĕparak) (shown as for Bĕdhaya Sĕmang)
- —·—·— path of male bĕdhaya (for performances of Bĕdhaya Sĕmang)
- W: position taken up by kĕparak
- X: singers
- Y: musicians
- Z: reader of the kandha
- G: Dutch Governor-General
- ▨ dance area

Bĕdhaya, the Sultan should sit with his back to the mountain, which would mean facing south. This view was not heard from anyone else. Should the Sultan be seated here, Prince Suryobrongto claimed that the dancers would be to the east of the pillars (Fig.6b). However, it was also reported to me that some considered dance would occur as in the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, beneath the centre of the building (Fig.6c), though many disagreed. On another occasion, Prince Suryobrongto drew a diagram with the Sultan sitting to the west between the pillars facing east, behind him the Prabayĕksa ('Great Aureole') where the heirlooms are kept, with the dance on the east side of the stage, beyond the pillars (Fig.6d). This position for the dance seems to accord with the diagram given by Soedarsono (1984:85) of a performance in 1933. Although he does not put in the pillars, the position of the Sultan is not central, but appears to be somewhere behind the south-west pillar (Fig.6e). What these various possibilities show is that there was no one place that had to be occupied by the Sultan during Bĕdhaya performances. Indeed, it is noticeable in Soedarsono's diagram that the one who occupies the place between the pillars to the west is the Governor-General. Presumably if a visitor to whom the Sultan deferred attended, the Sultan would sit elsewhere; otherwise, it is likely that he would sit somewhere on the west side of the central pillars. What is indisputable is that no one except the Sultan, or his throne, representing him, could ever sit under the centre of the building (Soedarsono 1984:82-5, 43).

Given the somewhat blunt and practical mood which prevails not only in contemporary dance productions in and out of the palace, but also in ritual offerings as discussed above - perhaps visiting the

tomb of Sultan Agung at Imagiri is the most solemnly conducted - it would seem that the nature of the event, the number and type of guests, as well as the form to be given, dictated how seating was arranged and where the dancers actually danced. There is lack of accurate detail here: for instance, Soedarsono claims only Bĕdhaya or Srimpi were done in the Bangsal Kĕncana proper (1984). Groneman, however, also records that Bĕksan also took place here (1888:21). It is of interest in this connection to note that the question of which Bĕdhaya also played a part, although this would be determined also by the importance of the occasion. For example, it has been recorded that while HBII's enthronement took place in the Bangsal Kĕncana (AD 1792), the reception with the Bĕdhaya was held in Bangsal Sriměnganti (see Fig.3) that night (Pradjaradjasa 1953). Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, Yogyakarta's most prestigious Bĕdhaya (until it ceased in 1914) could be performed by male or female dancers. This, according to the Platen-albums and informants, made for two very different events: the female Sĕmang, danced by the Sultan's grand-daughters, not his wives, was apparently done on the king's birthday (tingalan dalĕm taunan) in the centre of the building (Platen-album No.29:Pls.38-9). This tallies with a chance remark by one of the present Sultan's nieces, who, after asserting that the Bĕdhaya was never in the centre, conceded that maybe it used to be for the king's birthday.

The male Sĕmang, on the other hand, was appropriate for the coronation anniversary (tingalan dalĕm jumĕnĕngan) and also, during the reign of HBVII, for the birthday of the Crown Prince, and, as Prince Suryobrongto explained, took place on the stage where Wayang Wong is performed, the dancers making their entrance from the Purwarĕtna

building, to the north of the Bangsal Kencana (see Fig.6). The performance for the coronation anniversary would be preceded by a night of vigil and fasting (Platen-album No.29:Pls.39-40).

Positioning in rehearsal is also subject to circumstantial criteria, and one should note changes arising in production with the use of a proscenium stage: in pendhapas, movements were repeated in each direction so everyone could see; today they are abridged (also partly in the name of modern time-saving). With reference to Wayang Wong, however, informants stressed a technique which would surprise Western actors. Although the play used to take place in front of the Sultan, the positions taken up on stage would be with respect to the person addressed, according to the conventions of tatakrama: it is the stage king who is faced when addressed, even if this means blocking the Sultan or other viewers, presenting one's back. Seating in large scenes was also according to politeness. Distance from the senior figure, as in the ceremonial in Surakarta, is according to age and rank of the characters in the scene.

The question of the position of the king and his dancers therefore endorses the idea that it is better to consider specificities and the classifications which they produce, rather than hypostatising the circumstances - for instance, those at the king's birthday before 1914 - as representing something which is then essentialised in classifications and models; and then assuming that divergence indicates loss through change. The moveable Sultan does not accord with the centred Indically-ascribed figure of power, which is why, I would propose, one version rather than another, tends to have been established as orthodoxy. The conditions prevailing on the king's birthday provide

instances of classifications existing, but not examples of classifications which exist independently of such events. Such instances, however, are not total, neither appropriating or subsuming all possible classifications. As will become evident in the following chapter, discrepancies and options, which may become lost in a framework based on generalisation, are resources for explanation and interpretation. Indeed, in order not to pre-empt the entire question prematurely, an important feature has been deliberately omitted. Although the palace has been spoken of as having a north-south axis, with the mountain to the north and so forth (and indeed most diagrams of the palace indicate this), the true axis is in fact skewed, so that cardinally it is on a north-north-east - south-south west axis (see Adam 1940). The first Mataram palace which was founded at Kota Gĕdhe lies true south of the mountain.

This links to the question of right and left, and binary classifications, as well as showing something else about cardinal usage. For in most activities, Javanese tend to be aware of the relativity of right and left depending on which way one is facing, and prefer to locate or orientate with reference to the four cardinal points. In learning dance one would be told to go east, rather than right, if the pĕndhapa happened to be oriented in that way, though the cardinal references may not be geographically true. Questions about orientations in dance were answered by palace experts in relation to the alignment of buildings, not to a wider configuration or cosmology; seating arrangements were also mentioned. Tighter cosmological associations may have motivated the planning of the kraton in spite of its modernity, but one might suspect that, as today, detailed and accurate knowledge of such systems is the province of specialists.

In dance training sessions in the Bangsal Kĕsatriyan today, dancers face and salute the male teachers, sitting north-north-east, over whose heads are suspended portraits of the Sultans. The salute is also made to no one in particular as officials come up into the pavilion and take their places. The dances take place under and to the side of the centre of the building. The female teachers sit to the east of the orchestra, with their backs to a closed-off section which is used as a studio for monthly outside broadcasts of concerts from the palace.

Performances held in the Pagĕlaran have varied orientations for the stage, sometimes with the dancers mostly facing north-north-east (their backs to the Sultan's portrait, as mentioned above), or east, the stage running north-south, this last paralleling the position of the screen for the shadow plays to close the Garĕbĕg Maulud, and seems more in keeping with other orientations used in the palace.

Positional facts also explain the titles of officials; for example, before the palace was reorganised, singers were divided into two groups; wiyoga kilen (west) and wiyoga wetan (east). The first accompanied Bĕdhaya and Srimpi, the second Wayang Wong: informants explained that the names referred to where they sat in the Bangsal Kĕncana in performance.[46] The skew to the east in the Kasultanan and its "reversed polarity" has a concomitant aspect in the classifying of officials and their offices in the palace in relation to a 'left-handed skew' in the Kasunanan.[47] The implications this has for considerations about right-left classifications must surely suggest that such polarities are used depending on a number of factors, some of which may have fixed associations, others less. The use of cardinal

references instead of left-right might also suggest that right-left becomes less a case of binarism than of quadruplism, entailing the other two cardinal points; which brings us back to the quincunx: as informants stated with emphasis, to create a system of four, there needs to be a plus one to form the totality: how in the West, things being groupedas fours, can the four be conceived of without a fifth element which provides a perspective upon the other four? Without this perceptual factor, the classification is unformed.

Inconsistencies in local classifications have been explained by a lack of concomitance between five-four systems and binary ones which again demonstrates the north as a problematic orientation.[48] However, while Pigeaud suggested that binarism has a limited assimilative capacity - "it is exceptional for any binary classification to be applied to the entire human community"(1977:78) - he attempted none the less to forge links between elements, which, given his recognition that the system is for divination, tend to endow the Javanese with structuralist interests which are more appropriately ascribed to the theory (1977:71-2), as suggested above.

Right and left are often discussed in the shadow play, with the puppets on the left (of the puppeteer) being considered 'bad' and those on the right 'good'. Javanese people tend to deny such moral intrinsicness: for instance, the half-brother of the Pandhawa, Karna, raised by the Korawas in Hastina, is on the losing side because of where he happens to be raised or because of his place. Alternatively, the Korawas are bad because they lose, not the other way round (for further discussion concerning this, see Hobart 1985a). The idea that the bad side loses is also expressed of Wayang Wong (losing shown as

kneeling and then walking off). Prince Suryobrongto, however, stressed that under HBVIII, the close of the plot would not be the annihilation of the opposing side, but its restoration to its own place. Being in place thus gains another aspect, that of conflict prevention, or resolution. It has also been observed that the Korawas are not essentially bad, but fail to fulfil the ethic of the satriya code, or fall short of the requirements of tatakrama.[49] The theme of restoration and the character sphere (kings and followers) may be understood to reflect the process of Garĕbĕg, in which the king's return to the palace is at once improvement and repetition. This is also true of the Bĕdhaya which is identified both in terms of surrender to God (which is analogous to the Sultan sitting in contemplation) and also as a cyclical process, in which the three-row formation representing 'perfect death' is then followed by the rising of the dancers and their exit march in the 'body' formation, as in the entrance. Informants said this showed that there is an "eternal cycle" (siklus yang abadi B.I.).

In view of one definition of metaphor, where "the word applies to everything that it applies to in its literal role, and then some" (Davidson 1980:34, my emphasis), such classifications may be understood to fulfil the metaphorical process in these terms. Thus, in the discussion about cardinal identifications above, an option may be supplemented, as in the case of the tilt of the axis of the palace to the east. While such a decentering or dislocation may be understood as an extra which is proper to a king who also transcends regular categories of human experience, there is also the possibility that a radically different perspective may be taken on this and other

questions implied by the discussion about classifications. As has become evident, the difficulty in defining dance, in establishing fixed categories for it sementically or otherwise, suggests that there is an absence of an essential centre. The relation of equivalence between one thing and another in a classification has also been noted as problematic. This will be further explored in Chapter VI, along with evidence that value is placed on the oblique (sic). The more elliptical the conveyance of sense, of the absence of conveyance, the better, as sense may then proliferate through the agency of a cobbling together (bricolage, perhaps) of linkages and inferences which may be over- or under-determined. Indeed, it is likely that ambiguities which have presented themselves in the discussion may be a symptom of this, rather than of any system of inconsistency, and need not betoken a double system using two autonomous approaches. While the strata of identifications which have arrived in Java historically may be employed strategically in classificatory strategies (among others), it is more likely that the consistency and generality of classifications is something which is achieved by theoretical determination and underlying presuppositions. Traditions in Yogyakarta, in so far as they are elements which have been stamped with palace approval, may appear to transcend actual discontinuity and approximate repetitions, may provide a balm of coherence resting on the notion that the king has a privileged mediatory access to, or purchase on, the controllable and the uncontrollable. However, this may be indicative of something else, which may be linked to the statement of dance that "it is its spirit, not its rules, which are important".

Before exploring these matters further, two final ethnographic perspectives on the palace and its constitution will be presented, both deriving from a local identification which rests on the use of the terms 'in' and 'out' (jĕro and jaba).

(v) Within and Without: Palace as Exclusive World?

> Outside and inside form a dialectic of division, the obvious geometry of which blinds us as soon as we bring it into play in metaphorical domains. It has the sharpness of the dialectics of yes and no, which decides everything (Bachelard 1969:211).

In discussion about dance in the palace and what could be considered special about it, informant explication tended to rely on the idea of practices within the palace as having to be different from those of 'outside'. Problems about how the palace might be understood as a bounded entity were presented above, and show that the "dialectical sharpness" of in and out is betrayed not only by what exists on the ground, but by other cross-cutting identifications. As already remarked, the king's palace is not a homogeneous space, and within the enclosed central courtyard is the inner 'house' where one does not find the 'mad ones' or the horse dancers (below), there is intimacy within the public, the inner house having its pĕndhapa, the Bangsal Kĕncana, behind which lies the repository of heirlooms, the Prabayĕksa, which besides being inner, is also the epitome for polite public space outside the palace. Even within the intimate places of this inner space, such as the houses of the queen and secondary wives, said to be very homely, with ducks and chickens roaming freely, formal dress, movements and salutations are required of those who enter. Another instance concerns the Bĕdhaya.

It is commonplace to read that inside the palace Bĕdhaya was danced by nine dancers, and outside (for instance at the Pakualaman) by seven (Verslag van het Congres van het Jawa Instituut 1925:210; Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:144). Apart from confusing statements by some informants that the reverse obtained,[50] the fact of there having been a palace coach reserved for the use of transporting bĕdhaya out of the palace before 1945 shows the error of treating boundaries literally. Indeed, the restriction of the Bĕdhaya for nine appears from one point of view to have been for palace dancers; for the August celebrations in the Kĕpatihan, the Chief Minister was required, if he wished for a full Bĕdhaya, to ask the Sultan for permission to borrow nine palace bĕdhaya (see Platen-album No.28: Pls.1-10).

Other aristocratic residences within the fort area create problems here also. One example is the Mangkubumen, a compound inside the fort to the south-west of the main palace compound, first used by the Crown Prince under HBVI and later being given over in part to the medical faculty of Gadjah Mada University in 1946. Buildings along one side were kept for the Sultan's oldest sister, entitled Ratu Pĕmbayun, who is sometimes called 'the little mother of the Sultan' (Ibu alit Sri Sultan), and the compound where she lives being compared to "a little palace" (kados kraton alit). The development of forms such as the dance opera, Langĕndriya, subsequently assimilated to the repertoire as conceived of as 'classical' also calls into question the image of the palace as an enclosed space. The facts suggest that it should be understood more as a zone which is part of a transformational process by means of privileges and concessions from 'in' to 'out', in such a way that exchanges making up the hierarchy run in both directions.

The theme of difference then should be understood as creating metaphorical rather than literal boundaries. This has certain repercussions for the notion that dance is a "stylisation of everyday movements" (see Chapter IV), as we shall see. In view of the data already presented, and anticipating that to come, a schematised version of the principles involved in this differentiation may be tabulated as follows.

Table 5 : Dance Differentiations according to 'in' and 'out'

'Out'		'In'
Unintentionalised gesture		Stylised gesture
'Non' palace ritual conventions	But different	Refined conventions
Martial theme and ethos		Martial ethos fictionalised/ recast

This table of process applies to dance forms, not to the shadow play. Other elements in palace dance such as named movements, conventional costume, etc. also contributed to the differentiation. The general problem may be illustrated with reference to an image of the palace in Groneman 1895, Plate XI (Illustration 68), which shows HBVII at the ceremonies for Garĕbĕg Maulud, emerging from a building in the palace. He is flanked by ten soldiers who appear to be of the Nyutra corps, his personal bodyguard, who are walking in a mode similar to that of the 'strong' dance ones. Crawfurd also speaks of this stylised mode of moving in palace ceremonial, though in one sense, in certain spaces in the palace where the king was seen, the everyday was ceremonial. Today, one may see soldiers of the same corps accompanying the rice mountains in Garĕbĕg moving with a slow stiff walk to the tunes on pipes, gongs and drums (Illustration 69). Is this the "ordinary everyday movement" referred to in Chapter III, Section ii(a)?

This chapter opened with remarks concerning the importance of adjusting behaviour to the place one is in, the principle of ĕmpan-papan. Dance, with its own specific level of ĕmpan-papan (the assured and graceful taking up of positions or stands according to the conventions of the practice), is also an aspect of conventions of ĕmpan-papan as applied to the palace: the salutation may be understood as a case of this. Dance may thus be understood to stand in relation of synechdoche (see Chapter IV, fn.9) to a code of politeness in the palace which is itself both synechdoche and exemplary (by being 'different', 'better') to practices in other places.

This may be explained with reference to the local value of fittingness (patut, cocog). Formal politeness is fitting for certain occasions and places, although ethnography tends to make out that this is 'normal'! The Javanese, however, do not value behaviour as 'natural' in any general sense, so no movement may be understood as 'everyday and normal' in contrast to those used in dance situations. The regular observation of formality in movement, speech delivery and styles, in the palace may generate an ease within the constraint which might appear 'natural'. But practice does make perfect, as becomes clear when one encounters the more common manifestations of politeness and a shrinking unease (most excessive when foreigners try to 'be Javanese'). What palace appearances amount to is that people have come to feel at home (in all senses) in the formal codes of tatakrama.

Westerners tend to evaluate positively a person who is 'sincere', whose behavioural style shows what (s)he is "really like", and to say someone is "natural" is a compliment. These presuppositions have often led to a mistaking of different presentations as dishonest. In

Java, being on one's best behaviour depends on where one is and with whom. One can simplify this by saying that in so far as the pĕndhapa is the public part of a house, pĕndhapa behaviour is public behaviour, and that here of all places, it is most misconceived to assume that a 'natural' manner is a universally desirable one: in Yogyakarta (and Java, especially in the Principalities), there is a continuum between public and intimate, demonstrated in the shifts of familiarity and respect in speech levels, in which the 'natural' in one sense understood to be the "uncontrollable", requires mediating and tempering. This is different from nature as 'the creation' (alam, kodrat), and more will be said about this and human nature in Chapter VII.

This can be illustrated clearly with reference in palace dance ideas to the definition of an exemplifying and ex mplary practice, somewhat paradoxically, through differentiation, in this case, from female dancing outside the palace, commonly referred to as joged, less commonly janggrung, in contrast to bĕksa, the dance movement of the inside.

Performers of this kind of dancing are called ronggeng, tayub and tledhek. Tledhek is a term used in Yogyakarta and Surakarta; ronggeng in south-east Central Java (also ringgit), in the nineteenth century used synonymously with 'tandhak', today found in East Java (Sutton 1984:120; see also Holt 1967:111-2). These performers once had a high status in the community and played a part in the rites preceding harvest (bĕrsih desa: 'village cleaning'), a custom associated with fertility which survives in isolated regions such as the south-east of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Suharto 1980). The privileged relation of the ronggeng to the village community and its founding

ancestor has recently been the subject of a popular novel (Tohari 1982). These dancers have also been treated as the predecessors of palace dancers (Sutton 1984; Suharto 1980).

Palace polarisations tend to overlook the fact that in colonial days dancing girls performed a similar role to palace dancers in the lesser residence of Bupati (Regents), performing in their houses on special occasions such as the Regent's nameday falling every thirty-five days (Mayer 1897, Vol.II:Pl.viii, 305-10; Vol.II:Pl.xv), and this put a burden on indigenous bureaucrats (priyayi) who were taxed in order to help the regent cover the cost of the upkeep of these ronggeng and the gamĕlan musicians who accompanied them (Sutherland 1979:23).[51] There is also evidence to suggest that such dancers would perform at a shadow play (de Wit 1912:138, Photo 151). Apart from diminished participation in harvest ritual, ronggeng today are mainly viewed as itinerant or displaced performers (ngamen) who may be hired to dance at drinking parties called tayuban (for the East Java versions, see Geertz 1960). In the past, Regents and other senior officials were encouraged to take time off to attend such functions, where the one or two dancers would also sleep with the men in exchange for money.

The strong case for such practices as generating a continuum between what one sees in the palace traditions today and what informants called outside on the grounds of custom or habit (naluri), is normally repressed in a stringent exclusion of any identification with Bĕdhaya and Srimpi and these dances of the outside, as being antithetical to the palace ethos or spirit. It was repeated over and over that what happend in the palace is a 'refined' version of outside, but different, disjunction being stressed, not conjunction.

This is explained with reference to two aspects: firstly, that ronggeng dance for money; secondly, that they dance with men. While the palace is conceptually 'the world', it is a world where the commercial has been muted, or transmuted into a system of exchange in which status is transacted in return for respect, good service, and thus, honour. Things which are 'klasik' B.I. (classical) are contrasted with things which are barang: commodities. Even today in an era of barang, there is a strong feeling that palace dancing should be preserved as something other than a commodity and not to be traded, a principle being hotly, if subtly, contested and disputed by the various factions in Yogyakarta today (Chapter VIII); discourse about ronggeng is one index of the position taken with regard to the economics of contemporary dance production.

With regard to the second point, palace dancing is not social: dancing with men is disapproved of in palace circles and in formal expressions in society at large - 'social' here is very much a euphemism for 'sexual'. Even in provincial discotheques (i.e., not in Jakarta), men dance with men unless they can afford a 'hostess', officially for dancing, but in practice a contemporary urban incarnation of the debased image of the ronggeng.

It might be noted here that some unexpected attitudes by women towards ronggeng prevailed. Tayub were hired to assist at weddings, and palace informants recalled female guests not just witnessing the dancing but also participating: this was in Madiun, not a palace town where such behaviour would be unlikely. It was also claimed that the bride would be ashamed (lingsĕm k., malu) if her husband failed to cut a fine figure dancing with the tayub. Tohari's story describes women

vying for whose husband will manage to buy the virginity of the ronggeng: status comes before sexual possessiveness (see also Platen-album No.28:Pls.42, 44-7). In the palace, sexuality is dissimulated or deflected - as is desire.

Tayuban did not occur in the palace, though there was informant speculation that the Sultan used to accompany his sons informally to such parties held in the residence of the chief minister. The polarised contrast is also undermined by the fact that in the past very good ronggeng might become palace dancers. Such girls, usually from rural villages not urban communities, might have become employed in princely residences in town which would become well known for their tayuban where, it was said, some dancers were so skilled that they could inform their partner (ngibing) exactly what to do next. (One wonders what terminology they used for this.) As ronggeng sang and danced, some were said to become palace singers. Indeed, one of Yogyakarta's leading pĕsindhen today, Nyai Riya Larasati,used to be a ronggeng.[52]

Outside the palace, social dancing has been taken up and used for modern choreographies, such as Tari Jaipong created by Bagong from the Jaipongan social genre of Sunda, the performance of which at weddings in Yogyakarta in 1983 elicited strong disapproval from certain informants. Clearly the sexual innuendo of the dance was considered unfit for a wedding reception. This lies also behind remarks on the palace Golek form. In Yogyakarta one finds the view that the Yogyakartan palace tradition is "purer" than that of Surakarta, which has a form called Gambyong referred to by many Yogyakartans as the 'Surakartan palace tayuban'. Others say this used to be the Glondrong dance, performed

by a female official whose function was palace healer, Mas Ajĕng Gambyong.[53] In Yogyakarta this is disregarded, and Yogyakartans persist in disparagements of the Surakartan style in general with its more open armpits, unlowered gaze, use of dance sash and so forth as being indications that palace dancing is tainted.[54] Some say that palace dance teachers in Surakarta used to teach outside the palace, leading to a merging of the in and out, which in Yogyakarta are maintained as separate. However, new lines of research in dance and music are beginning to acknowledge cases of inter-borrowing, albeit through a filter of palace conventions and indentifications (see Chapter VIII). The ideological character of the distinction between 'in' and 'out' is evidenced by other practices in the palace. For example, in marriage ceremonies, often multiple marriages, each couple would have a dance couple, called edan-edanan (mad ones), the male astride a hobby horse, identified with trance dance in community events, the female carrying an umbrella (Platen-album No.4:Pl.22). These have been subject to various analyses (Pigeaud 1938:232), but what is important is that in ritual they are incorporated into the palace regardless of their 'out' identifications. They used also to feature in Garĕbĕg processions (Platen-album No.26:Pl.27), along with the bĕdhaya acting as Manggung (Groneman 1888:7-12, Pls.1 and 2; Tirtakoesoema 1932); hobby horses; the tipsy clowns, Abdidalĕm Tjitralata and Pralato dancing in a tayungan style (Platen-album No.26: Pl.48; Groneman 1895:Pl.XXIII; Stutterheim 1956); and the Palawija, dwarfs and other human anomalies which the kraton incorporated and used in dance as well as Garĕbĕg (Groneman 1888:Pl.XII; Bonneff 1974:Pl.5) the biggest procession being for the annual Mauludan, especially in the year Dal, which falls every eight years.

The element of mediation in Garĕbĕg should be remembered in this context, an important aspect which is at odds with the idea that the palace is 'in' by virtue of being closed and exclusive.

Another way in which the palace at once differs and yet offers an ideal is in its use of the 'democratic' Bagongan language,[55] notable among all Javanese codes for having terms for 'I' and 'you' which are applicable to all except the king himself, who is always addressed in krama inggil. Although this language was restricted to palace or palace personnel, senior Yogyakartan princes still stress a more democratic flavour to the Yogyakartan style, and noted invariably that whereas in Surakarta aristocrats speak to the little people in the familiar ngoko, in Yogyakartan aristocrats maintain their respect by using krama in an unpatronising way.

A second feature which may be understood as excluded from the palace is masks, though these are used for monkeys, demons and ogres, and it has been argued that the absence of masks in Yogyakarta is a feature of the unmasked Mahābhārata plots having more place than the Rāmāyaṇa ones (Soedarsono 1984:5, 10, 17). In Surakarta, masked plays formed part of the inner repertoire, but in spite of this, the ideology of restriction of masks in Yogyakarta may be related structurally to the idea of difference between female dancing within and without. The solo male dance, Klana, originally masked, in the Yogyakarta palace is performed without, though outside it keeps the mask. Outside, unmasked dances and plays are still probably the most widespread kind of performance (see Pigeaud 1938), and it has been argued that Yogyakartan Wayang Wong should be understood as a 'revival' of performance of the type described in the fourteenth-century court of

Hayam Wuruk (Pigeaud 1960-3), reference also being made to the varying use or non-use of masks in Bali (Soedarsono 1984; de Zoete 1938).

Common reasons given for their exclusion cited Islamic censure of magical superstitions adhering to masks and masker, masks being understood to attract spirits ancestral or otherwise, which possess the wearer who enters into trance - a standard idiom for a state where control has been lost, a control which is highly stressed in the palace ethos. Islamic concerns are probably not the reason for this exclusion, as masks are incorporated into the Surakartan palaces which are as ostensibly Islamic as Yogyakarta. Furthermore, there is an account of the first king of the Islamic kingdom of Dĕmak dancing as a masker before his defeated father, Brawijaya V, on Mount Lawu (Pigeaud 1938:387). Another argument one hears in Yogyakarta is that, in keeping with the idea that things in the palace are better, and higher (and thus adiluhung), masks are kasar ('coarse'), and that they conceal the dancer's mastery of the philosophical dance elements grĕgĕd (dynamism) and sĕngguh (confidence), and alsó, the all-important pasĕmon gaze, reflection of the 'inner', which is so valued in Yogyakartan Wayang Wong (see further Chapter VII). This may also be be related to the care taken in the palace to define the state of the dancer in terms which are different from how a dancer outside is taken over by the spirit of his hobby horse, for instance, a state which is termed dadi (literally, 'become'), kĕsurupan, kĕpanjingan, the latter having been glossed with regard to Wayang Wong as 'being in ecstasy' (Suryobrongto 1982:15). Although it is desirable to enhance the state of the dancer, this enhancement must be prevented from coming too close to the wild and frightening untamed cavortings of the horserider

in trance in jathilan - hence the use of 'ecstasy', conventionally distinguished from 'trance' in Vatican discourse. It should be noted that fear and embarrassment may be understood to generate explanations in the name of Islam or custom (adat), which are not simple causal factors. Fields of opinion and fashion also determine to a certain extent the current use of references in explaining why some elements are excluded or not highlighted.

One possible explanation is that eroticism (as in joged), and masks, carry identifications with ritual events, and their ideological exclusion from the palace may be understood as symptomatic of an official purging of these external identifications, and a reclassification of any formal or similar elements which may persist as belonging to the king (kagungan dalĕm), or even more, as being heirlooms (pusaka dalĕm), such as some Bĕdhaya, Srimpi and the Wayang Wong. In short, they are reinscribed with the seal of palace ownership and status. The former ronggeng has a new name and status when she becomes a bĕdhaya; the demon mask becomes humorous rather than an object of fear and a link with the supranatural.[56] The elements thus become 'traditions', and, like dance movement, are given a new motivation, service to the king, the appointed mediator of in and out, and over the three realms (loka) in his capacity as Kalifatullah and as Wisnu the Preserver.[57] (See further Chapter VIII.)

Apart from being the house of the king, the palace has been shown to be inscribed with highly notional and evocative systems of potency and control, in terms of instrumentality conceived of as cosmic and therefore more firmly legitimate. This perspective, however, has been challenged as stressing the cosmic, at the expense of the specific. It

should be recognised that this model was elaborated by the literati of the colonial era, whose literary skills appear to have effected a leakage of Dutch ideas about Java (as the 'Other') back into Javanese ones. The results today are evident in the Indonesian writing of history, along with definitions of identity and, thus, the international status of Indonesia.

The difference between the inside and the outside (and forms associated with such spheres) is less a matter of essence than of placing, endowment, and framing. A further illustration, which will also serve as a link to the next section of the thesis, is provided by a set of identifications, which uses those already introduced: in-out, the king (highest incarnation, doubly-defined mediator, ensconced between gods and men, in a zone which is different and yet the same), and a third element which has been implied in some of the Bĕdhaya 'body' formations - the person, according to traditional models encountered in Yogyakarta.

(vi) The Palace Embodied

The use of another in-out opposition is also very common in accounts of experience and perception, and is based on the apparently simple contrast of 'out' (lair, B.I. lahir) and 'in' (batin, batos k.).[58] One lexicographer glosses jaba-jĕro as synonymous with lair-batin (Purwadarminta 1939). The connotations of these two words will be returned to in Chapter VII, but for now as a strictly provisional gloss and with no intention to evoke a mind-body contrast, lair is often said to include the physical body, and refers to the exoteric conditions arising from one's birth (lair also means 'birth', 'be born'),

while batin is the esoteric personal instrinctive/intuitive sense-seeking aspect (which links to rasa, an important perceptual term considered in Chapter VII). This contrasts with the lair part of experience which is concerned with rules imposed by others, such as status, physical gratification (nafsu) and so forth. One saying to describe the relation between lair and batin is 'a brick in its casting mould' (satu munggen rimbagan) (Soebardi 1975:113). Should one be tempted to fix a meaning on these terms, it is salutary to remember one nominalist definition: lair is glossed as "what is not batin" (kang dudu batin) (Purwadarminta 1939).

Two examples may illustrate the contrast. Firstly a recent fiction in Indonesian tells of a servant girl from a village outside Yogyakarta who works with an aristocratic family living within the fort and, somewhat typically, becomes pregnant by their son. The mistress of the house has a broad mind and stipulates that although the child must be born in the girl's village, the two will then return to Yogyakarta, she as a servant, the child as a child of the house. The book ends on this note, with the girl gladly anticipating this, musing that "In my lahir I'm still a servant, but in my batin I'm the new concubine".[59]

The second example is brief: many informants who would not call themselves extremists suggested that religion (agama)[60] is a matter of lahir, and one's own actions (including spiritual exercises) and awareness bear on the batin. One commentator has suggested that the contrast may be understood as 'contingent' and 'absolute' respectively (Geertz 1960:232). However, as will be later argued, it might be more appropriate to consider the two as alternative encapsulations før two theories of knowledge.

As the batin is enshrined in the physical person, it stands as a microcosm (jagad alit) to the macrocosm (jagad agĕng),[61] in the same way that the Sultan does when contemplating in the Siti Inggil. The one is made manifest through the other, both being subject to relations predicated on the in-out opposition. At the same time, the boundary between the two is not absolute, the categories not entities but references within a process: in the palace a process of ideological exclusion and exemplification, and in the case of the person, a process of self-discipline and awareness (see also Chapter VII). The important thing to notice is process: here again it may be argued that bounded categories do little to explain how people in Yogyakarta find and identify value.

It should not be forgotten that when the Sultan is in contemplation, he represents a condition or state called manunggaling (or jumbuhing) kawula lan gusti, an Islamic formula which means union of servant and or god ('lord'), the unification of two elements (or perspectives) as the means to achieve a realisation. Numerous metaphors cluster round this idea of unification, in general and specifying terms: 'the dagger in its sheath' (curiga manjing warangga); the king as the stone (sĕsotya), the people the setting (ĕmbanan) (Moertono 1968:22); 'the alloy of servant and master/god' (pamoring kawula gusti); and less commonly, 'the unity of body and soul' (manukma, from sukma, 'soul'). The chain of identifications may be used both ways, mutually reinforcing the idéa simultaneously of the unified self(lair-batin) and the ideally conceived relation of master and servant (kawula-gusti). It is important to stress that this idea transcends "the artificial (Western) categories of ideal and real" (Emmerson 1976:205).

The identifications set up in this chapter may be presented formulaically as:

in:out : : palace:not palace : : Sultan:palace: : batin:lair. This nexus may exist independently of the palace, and the identification with God may be applied to one other than the king: to man himself.[62] Today, such identifications, whether or not they constitute religious beliefs or not, have led to what was formerly kĕbatinan ('Javanese mysticism') which was the responsibility of the Ministry of Religion being re-classed as kepercayaan (B.I. 'beliefs') or, 'being in the condition of believing or subscribing to' , under the authority of the Ministry of Education and Culture.[63]

In so far as the subject of identifications is a theme here, it might be noted that identifications set up between the image of palace and model of self could account for the ongoing capacity of the palace to make sense (literally), in spite of socio-political changes over the past forty-five years. One might note also the degree of redundancy in such identifications - as implied in problems arising in dance (Chapter III, Section ii[b]). Modernist Javanese are less likely to renounce such ideas than to castigate the old 'feodal' (feudal sic) system. As Chapters VII and VIII will show, concerns about power structure and the self are not independent, and may be understood in Yogyakarta to converge in dance - which is one argument for why dance is important to both those holding power and to those seeking to understand processes in Indonesia and Java. Or, to take up the idiom with which the chapter opened, it is a feature which helps to show what position people take with regard both to their selves and to the world around them. As will be shown in Chapter VIII, effectiveness,

whatever one's stance, is evaluated by how well one takes up one's position (mapan, lɛnggah). Idioms within dance are homologous to idioms without; all imply deliberation, pacing, and strategy. To move may be to measure: but in Java, it is very much perceived as such.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Iguh connotes 'moving in an acceptable way'; 'a way of acting'; synonymous with cara panindak, from tindak, 'to go' (Purwadarminta 1939) O.J. has 'to move'; also 'wisdom, insight, integrity'. The expression iguh pratikĕle (possibly a Dutch borrowing) was glossed as "to make everything straight, to sort out". In fighting sequences, iguh is vital, but even so, male training is not without injuries.

2. For discussions of the spaces in the Javanese house, see Rassers 'On the Javanese Kĕris', 1982:219-97; and Keeler 1983. For pĕndhapa forms and the different roof styles (joglo, limasan), see Sumintardja 1974:34-5; Tim Penyusun n.d.:158-9.

3. While this presentation of tata krama might suggest the English "Manners Maketh Man", there is a different set of identifications and connotations from the English, hence the care with which the different Javanese terms are specified. Tata is generally 'arrangement', giving nata 'to order'; krama, also used of the polite speech level, and the word for 'married' in polite Javanese, derives from Skt 'going, course, regular'; in O.J. it has a wide fan of meanings: (1) progress, order, series, succession, method, manner, custom, rule, sanctioned by tradition; (2) how something is or happens, state or condition; (3) conduct, behaviour, way of action, esp. right way, traditional way, custom (Zoetmulder 1982). When the king is enthroned in Java, he is said to be abhiseka krama. (See also Gonda 1952:204.) Related to tata krama is a cluster of tata terms: tatanan-pranatan: 'ordered' (cf. (p)atrap in Chapter III); tata prunggu: 'language use' (=unggah-ungguh), also 'to show respect'; tata raharja, a general condition of (politico-communal) order leading to kĕtĕntrĕman, 'peace and order'; tatacara: 'custom' = adat. Purwadarminta adds behaviour (pratingkah), patrap (arrangement, disposition); tata pranata (as above); subasita: 'polite, veiled language'; and watak: 'character', but see Chapter VII. One Javanese saying, 'Nagari mawi tata, desa mawi cara' (the court capital has its order, the village has its custom) might be noted here. Informants glossed this as 'other fields, other grasshoppers', in an Indonesian saying. According to Weiss 1979: 277, tatacara us understood to include things Islamic, contra kĕjawen which does not. This seems inaccurate: see Nakamura 1983: 148-9, 178; also Chapters VI and VII below.

4. Also noted is the importance of calculating the right direction for the day of the week (petungan), (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983: 46-7), and seems to link the search for the right place with orientation, in that the right direction must be taken to achieve this 'place' (1983:101).

5. At a sarasehan (a sort of men's seminar or discussion group) in Yogyakarta, a transformation from a crippling formality, stiff with embarrassment where boredom had reached its peak (the subject being the correct proportions in forming the letters of the Javanese

alphabet, using a 60° angle) to a collapse into complete chaos occurred when the local comic queried how the speaker had made his angle... language levels dropped, there was loud laughter, people moved about the pĕndhapa, came up to the speaker's chair and the white-board, sprawled in their seats and so forth. The significance of the clown's role in mediating this transformation will be returned to later.

6. Trapsila was glossed by the Prince as "every movement is ordered"; "attitude" was from another informant. Examples of trapsila are being able to sit for two hours without fidgeting in Wayang Wong; if male holding the front of one's bathik skirt so that the fold does not flap about (nyĕlomprot); if female, to hold one's arm so that the armpit does not show indecently. Trapsila is a manifestation of susila, glossed as 'moral' (Weiss 1979) but which comes closer to 'ethical'. Another term for the gestural is anggon tinon, 'showing, making seen', also associated with patrap and susila. Udha nĕgara is similar to sabda pandhita ratu, 'a king is as good as his word'. This is surprising in view of the ethnographic reputation of the Javanese who, when or if polite "avoid gratuitous truths" (Geertz 1960:246). It may be associated with the ideology of the reformist educational system, Taman Siswa (see Roem et al.1982:219).

7. Cf. the concepts of 'relevance' and 'mutual knowledge' (Sperber 1985). While this may be taken as a point of 'difference' from Western styles, it comes close to certain models of language use and reception, such as in the case of Wittgenstein's 'game' or Searle's 'speech act' (1968). These theories both minimalise the extent to which statement content may be treated in terms of separable truth conditions, the emphasis instead being on the use of the words, and the position (sic) of the speaker to the listener.

8. See Bonneff 1976 for a useful survey of some views. Subsequent examples include Mulyono 1977; Slamet 1977; Mulder 1978; Weiss 1979; Keeper 1982; Hardjowirogo 1983; Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983.

9. Even elderly ladies reply to the question "Have you ever been to Britain?" as a matter of politeness with the answer "not yet"; the positive would be "already". The blunt 'yes' and 'no' tend to be avoided. See also Chapter VI.

10. It was often said that to 'jawa' is to understand the person's capacity for goodness - in a universal sense. In a very public joke, a senior academic said that it would be argued that all humankind springs from Java (sic), one need only look at the archaeological evidence...For a suggestion that such self-congratulatory ideas are held by every group, but with reference to rationality rather than goodness, see Lévi-Strauss 1976:3. Every group assumes it knows best. On 'being Javanese' as categorical rather than conceptual, see Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:43.

11. To borrow a phrase from Tambiah (1969) from Lévi-Strauss, applied to classifications of food and house spaces in Thailand.

12. The general influence is from the Dutch scholar Berg. Recent examples include Selosoemardjan 1978: Carey 1984.

13. See Bosch 1960 and Pott 1966 for broad-based studies; Hadiwidjojo 1982 and Pudjasworo 1982 for the reflection in dance. The king and his bĕdhaya are compared to the lingga in the yoni. One might also note in this connection one myth of the Bĕdhaya's origin which cites the dance of seven heavenly nymphs who came down to earth, Malinggotbawa, understood as referring to the Shiva-lingga (Hadiwidjojo 1972:124; also van Helsingen-Schoevers n.d.). Might there be a connection between the name of this form, sometimes Lĕnggotbawa, the Legong dances of the Balinese courts (Covarrubias 1937), and the Thai court dance drama Lakhōn (Rutnin 1978)? One should also mention here Pigeaud's accounts of pre-Islamic palace ceremonies and dances in fourteenth-century East Java (1960-3), and the female dance forms such as Bĕdhayan, Laran-laran, and Lengger (1938:273-7 , 321-3). These suggest possible counterparts to if not direct influences on female dancing in the palaces. He also notes a dance for males in East Java called Sarimpi (1938:340).

14. There is an appealing fable on this subject set on the sixty-fourth birthday of Sultan Agung. The chief religious officiant, Kyai Pengulu, objects to the flowers and incense by the offerings. When the Sultan refuses to have them removed, and insists that the Kyai continue the rite, he claps his hands. On the third clap, to the amazement of the crowd, all the offerings come back to life, including the chickens, who start running around the palace. After this, continues the narrative, the Sultan gave way to the Kyai's wishes about ritual form (Wignywiryana 1941:29-30). In Yogyakarta and Surakarta today however, flowers and incense persist. Also, under HB VIII, the text of the Wayang Wong was considered sacred, and the Islamic fasting month was considered the appropriate time to write it down (Soedarsono 1984:104). Further attitudes about the relation of dance and Islam may be found in Soebardi 1975: 87-9.

15. The choosing of the site for the new centre of the kingdom gives rise to various myths, including that which tells of an encounter with a serpent (naga) who makes various prophetic statements about Yogyakarta. The Tugu, identified as a lingga and a naga, testifies to this origin (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:14). For other associations of naga and kingship, see Heine-Geldern 1942. Another account explains that from the time of Sultan Mangkurat I (AD 1646-77) there was a retreat (pĕsanggrahan) in the forest of Bĕringin at the village of Pacethokan, called Gardjitawati, changed by Paku Buwana II to Ngayogya. Bodies of dead Susuhunans from Kartasura would be rested here on their way to be buried at Imagiri (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:115; Mochtar 1982:120). For the role of naga in the classification of time, see van Hien, n.d., Vol.II:193-6, 222-3, 301.

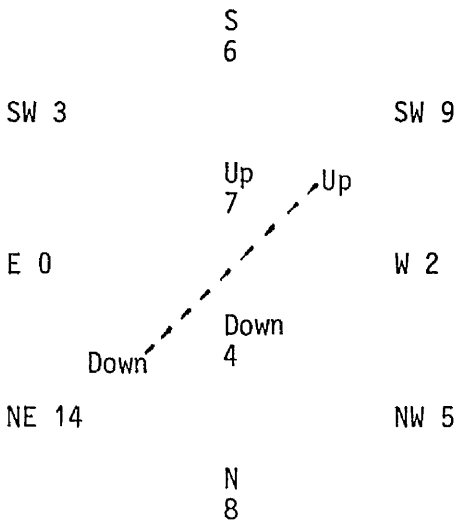
16. These officials lived outside the palace, giving their names to certain community areas in Yogyakarta which remain to this day: Bumijo, Gĕdongtĕngĕn, etc. The Nayaka Jaba for the outside were paired off: Bumijo and Siti Sewu ('Land' and 'One thousand lance-bearers' handled land and administration; Pĕnumping and Numbakanyar were in charge of security and defence. Inside, general affairs were the responsibility of Kĕparak Kiwa and Kĕparak Tĕngĕn (kĕparak is usually 'female palace official'; kiwa and tĕngĕn are 'left and right'), while financial matters devolved on Gĕdhong Tĕngĕn and Gĕdhong Kiwa (gĕdhong is 'building') (Pemerintah Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Yogyakarta 1980:21-2, 37). One source characterises these officials by their 'militaristic qualities' (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:39).

17. A recent case of such model-mongering may be found in Soedarsono 1984:32, n.101, and 67. Referring to ms.BBC43 in the Sanabudaya Museum, Sĕjarah-Dalĕm Ing Ngayogyakarta (which I am unable to identify in Girardet's catalogue 1983), he notes the HBI had twenty-three wives, nine of whom were official, thus forming a pattern of the eight winds and centre. Official palace genealogies (Mandoyokusumo 1980) indicate that HBI had twenty-three wives, two of whom were Queen in succession, and twenty of whom were secondary wives (garwa ampeyan). Soedarsono also suggests that HBVIII has six wives, five of whom were 'minor' (klangĕnan, 'for pleasure'), giving a pattern of four winds and one centre. Again the official genealogy contradicts this, giving eight wives, one of whom was Queen, the others secondary. While such models might exist in chronicles, modern historians should clarify when they should be read as 'fact', and when not.

18. On being asked about the special powers attributed to the Sultan (see Selosoemardjan 1962:Chapter 2), some informants were sceptical: "He's just a normal king, with no sĕkti" (special powers: see Chapter VIII). For the Sultan's own views on this, and why he spends so much time in Jakarta, and a catalogue of his Republican responsibilities, see Roem et al., 1982. Some have levelled criticism against the Sultan for having allowed a fountain to be installed at the crossroads north of the north square, thereby blocking off the view to the north which features prominently in palace models. In 1955, the Sultan was something of a role-model for the new Indonesian Javanese, particularly the middle classes (Geertz 1960:237): today, however, people seem uncertain about what role-models they require.

19. Van Ossenbruggen hazards that the structure may reflect ones such as he identified among the Minangkabau of Sumatra, where the tribe divides into two phratries, which subdivide into two moieties (suku). He suggests that the dominant structure is based more on fours than on fives (pañca), and that this may be seen in the term mancanĕgara (outlying lands), where manca means not five, but 'strange, other, different' (1977:32). Pigeaud also takes up this point, suggesting that manca actually derives from kanca (friend), and thus refers to a member of a group (1977:28). One might here note that a prevalent four-five classification is also found in China.

20. There is also a ten-point system in Java, but which is treated as 0 to 9: the diagram is taken from Tjakraningrat 1982:89; c.f. van Hien, n.d., Vol.I:177ff: the axis is also given in dots to show the plane.



Actively Islamic informants grew quite huffy about questions of orientation, as might be expected in view of the different references which may be found in Java, and said that there was only one direction of import, the north-west, towards Mecca.

21. There is a notion in Yogyakarta that when the volatile and highly dangerous volcano Mĕrapi erupts, it is because it wants to 'marry' the Queen of the South Sea (Ricklefs 1974a). Symmetrically, the fear of the waters of the South Sea going up the rivers to the north to meet the volcano would have the effect of severing the kingdom (Resink 1982). People describe a phenomenon called lampor, a noise of hooves and a rushing wind, as a sign of Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul being on the rampage with her followers among other things for the purpose of meeting with Mĕrapi; a union some described as the lingga-yoni.

22. Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul is an elusive and tantalising manifestation of what is sometimes seen as a legitimising strategy pure and simple. Her relations with the modernist Sultan can only be speculated on; all he will admit to is calling her Grandma (Eyang) Ratu Kidul (Mochtar 1982:103). A common reference is Mbok or Nyai Lara Kidul. Rara and lara are both understood to mean 'maid', though lara also means 'ill' and can be seen to refer to the leprosy motif which occurs in one version of this watery lady's antedecents (Poerbatjaraka 1962). Apparently in Orissa there is a mythology which concerns the marriage of the daughter of Baruna, the sea god; Lakṣmī to King Jāgānāthā. When she contracts leprosy (as a result of working among untouchables), he angrily returns her to the sea. Such tales occur throughout South East Asia. In the Yogyakartan mythology, there is a case of there being three figures: the Queen, and her two ministers (patih), Nyai Lara Kidul,

and Nyai Kidul, the former being identified with the unhappy nymph Nawang Wulan who was refused admission to heaven following her marriage to the earthly Jaka Tarub (Mandoyokusumo: n.d.). However, according to Kunst (1973) and Soedarsono (1984), there are only two figures, and two sets of offerings made to them at Labuhan. There is a proliferation of figures who seem like Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul. For example, Raden Dewi ('Queen Goddess') of Gua Langse (Kangjĕng Ratu Kadul's cave in the cliff to the east of Parangtritis) who is able to grant any wish, and Nyai Gadhung Mlathi who does likewise in Parangtritis itself (Platen-album No.8:Pl.120). Gadhung Mlathi is also a recipient in Mĕrapi, and also denotes the prohibited green colour of Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul. To confuse matters, there is a source which identifies Bok Lara Nyai Kidul as the daughter of Sunan Lawu Gunung Bahita, king of Majapahit (Pigeaud 1967: L OR 857 3-R-14410, an Arabic text dated 1910). In Yogyakarta, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul is normally understood to be the daughter of the king of Pajajaran, West Java, and her cults spread along the entire length of the south coast. However, there is also on the north coast of Central Java a cult to Dewi Lanjar, celebrated annually on the hill of Krapyak Lor, Pekalongan, when people go to ask for wealth (personal communication, Francis D. Yury). For other associations of place and spirit, see Ricklefs 1974:404-7.

23. Ĕmpu Rama and Ĕmpu Rachmadi are given offerings by people who hope to be successful in selling weapons (Platen-album No.8:Pl.83, para.87).

24. This character starts out as a man who for various reasons fails to finish eating an egg, and thus becomes an ogre (raksasa) responsible for guarding Mount Mĕrapi (personal communication, Umar Kayam).

25. Compare Tirtakoesoema 1933; Platen-album No.8:Pl.109, para.112; Ricklefs 1974; Bigeon 1982. Tirtakoesoema's account of offerings made on the occasion of HBVIII's enthronement in 1921, diverges on the following: the recipient at Dlĕpih is Kyahi Oedanangga; to the north are Sanghyang Umar (an Islamic attribution, used instead of Rama?), Ĕmpu Pĕrmadi (for Rachmadi? Pĕrmadi is a common name for the Pandhawa hero, Arjuna), and Kyai Brama Kĕdha. Others mentioned in my text are omitted, though there are separate references to Kyai Sabuk Angin, Bok Nyai Gadhung Mlathi, and Gusti Panĕmbahan Mĕgantara (1933:377).

26. Apparently there is a certain Nyai Widononggo at Dlĕpih to whom prayers are made in order to become a priyayi (official) Platen-Album No.8:para.112). This must be the same as the male character Kyahi Oedanangga above (Tirtakoesoeka 1933). According to Poerbatjaraka, this should be a Nyai, who is the daughter of Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, and like her, married to Panĕmbahan Senapati (1962).

27. Concerning the link between Durga (O.J. 'danger, obstacle') and Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, in view of the above associations and interconnections, one must surely sympathise with Pigeaud in his decision that Dewi Sri (the rice goddess, akin to the Indic Uma), Durga, and Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul are structural variants on the theme of the Female Goddess, and that Durga is a sea-goddess like Ratu Kidul, and a death-goddess (1960-3, Vol.IV:209-11; 300). Identifications become further confused if one considers Nyai Blorong, a snake-goddess who bestows wealth in exchange for the receiver becoming, after death, a pillar or stone in her kitchen below the sea (shades of the Medusa, perhaps?) who has lately been presented as the daughter of Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul. Jordaan (1984) has explored this connection, and has stressed a displacement between Ratu Kidul and Dewi Sri, rather than giving much credence to the identification with Durga. However, one might notice mythological accounts in Java of the birth of the destructive Bathara Kala. Siwa, inflamed by his wife Uma's nakedness as she rests on the sea, spills his semen into the water, and Kala is conceived (Hooykaas 1972:135-7; Mulyono 1982: 80-3). The Uma-Durga ambiguity may be related to the ambiguity of ascriptions of Ratu Kidul (who, like Durga, and like traditional bĕdhaya and brides, wears the crescent moon in her hair). Prostitutes will pray to Ratu Kidul by the sea for beauty. According to one of the Sultan's nieces who used to assist her mother, eldest sister of the Sultan, in numerous ritual preparations, in traditional households one week before a wedding occurs, senior members of that household will make offerings to Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, including the rice cone with burning wicks stuck into it (tumpĕng urubing damar) which is associated with her in Yogyakarta. Once the offerings are assembled and placed in the house-yard, at night, those present sit around it with their backs to it. This ritual was not mentioned by anyone else, and indeed was said to be little known by the informant. It suggests a possible link between Ratu Kidul and the old view of Durga as a fertility goddess, a view which is still expressed at Prambanan temple today. In the shadow play, Durga has a malevolent aspect which may be understood also as a variant of the 'trickster' or 'Old Woman' (Kabayan) (see Berg 1929; van der Kroef 1954:859). Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul also shares this identification, though she does not feature in the shadow play; instead, Kĕthoprak theatre tells her stories. It is also likely that demonic and frightening aspects of the figure have been promoted as part of the legitimising strategy of the palace (but see Footnote 57). One cannot help but speculate further to the Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul and Durga connection, whether this is any significance in the fact that the name of the place where offerings are made to Durga still, Krĕndhawahana, is that of the name of a bird of the mliwis species - the very bird which the deceived Angling Dharma changed into in a myth which is used as a theme in the special Srimpi Rĕnggawati for five dancers in the Yogyakartan palace. In view of the implications of such confusions, it is salutary to consult Belo's study of the Balinese witch figure, Rangda, who also has associations with Durga, and whose role in drama does not warrant her characterisation as evil (1949). While Durga's evil ascription may be due to Islam,

this is not exclusively the case. For example, in offerings made at Ambarkĕtawang (Footnote 28), one source names as receipient, 'Pertimah' (Platen-album No.8), presumably a conflation of Dewi Pertiwi, an earth-goddess, and Fatimah, the Prophet's daughter. It is more likely that the opposition of good and evil in essential terms is an inappropriate import, as argued for Balinese cases (Hobart 1985a).

28. In the month of Syawalan near Mount Gamping (to the west of Yogyakarta), formerly the site of a large quarry, of which only one rock peak remains, two pair of bridal couples made of rice flour and filled with sugar dyed red (bĕkakak), are, amid much dancing and festivity, executed by ritual experts from the palace. The palace funds this event, observed on two occasions, with more lavish expenditure on the second occasion in 1983: Rp 500,000, according to the local paper. People mutter about human sacrifice in the old days. However, one source explains that a newly-married couple died in a cave in the region, and as the husband had been a parasol-bearer to HBI, the Sultan made offerings of a rice couple as a way of counteracting the repercussions of the event and the likelihood of it happening again by placation (Partahadiningrat 1983; he was Camat in the district from 1948-52). Others say the offering is made to the spirit who used to take the lives of the men who worked in the quarry. In view of the reduplication in Yogyakarta of rituals from Surakarta, though with a different inflection, it seems conceivable in view of the gory character of this rite that it might originally - if not today - have held indentification with the offering made to Durga at Krĕndhawahana. Accounts of the ritual before independence may be found in Pigeaud, who terms it Cembengan (not heard today), linking it with the Chinese grave festival of Tsing Bing (1938:76).

29. From Skt and O.J., this means 'a wide space, the world; the world of human beings; mankind, human society'. Endraloka comes from Indraloka, 'Indra's heaven'. Janaloka is sometimes given as a fifth sphere (Zoetmulder 1982). In Shaivite literature, Janaloka is the abode of Wisnu (Hadiwijono 1967:31).

30. Also contributing to a kind of 'memory theatre', the Yogyakartan palace colours 'are' the following: red - courage; green - peace and safety; yellow and white - clarity.

31. Those present said that the mountains represent the 'fruits of the earth' (wulu wĕtu), and one man who had succeeded in obtaining the top piece of one mountain in the scuffle, said that he was going to put it in his rice fields to make them fertile. The ceremony may have aspects of a fertility rite; but it may also be understood as a communion between, or incorporation of, the king and his subjects. Some suggested that offerings were tumbal, made in a placatory spirit to ensure peace and wellbeing. The gunungan are not solid mountains, but structured on wooden frameworks. Before Garĕbĕg Bĕsar in 1983, I observed a ritual where a small mountain of sticky rice (wajik) is put on the base of what is to be the female mountain, to the accompaniment of the beating of a rice mortar

(lĕsungan). It ended with the dressing of the gunungan in the skirt and breast cloth of a woman, momentarily. Outside are hung beans for the male, and other foodstuffs; the official responsible for making these mountains complained at length about the difficulties of shopping for them with the limited budget he is allowed today. Questions asked about the possible symbolism of the rice mountains, suggested by the dressing of the female as a woman were not very extravagant, in spite of rice mythology which tells how the rice sprang from the genitals of the rice-goddess Dewi Sri, part of a series of transformations from her body to save her from the time god, Bathara Kala, who was pursuing her. The dressing of the female mountain was not reckoned to indicate Dewi Sri, however, although several suggested that a lingga-yoni identification might be made. Mostly informants were quick to deny this, claiming indigenous identifications at the level of 'mother and father'. (See also Groneman 1895, and Bonneff 1974.) Within the palace a practice called pĕthĕthan occurs on the Sultan's birthday (tingalan dalĕm taunan), in which three lengths of gold, copper, and silver wire the height of the Sultan are distributed among high-ranking officials (personal communication, K R T Widyakoesoema, who showed me his three pieces).

32. See Johns 1964. Some claim that this idea comes from Theosophy, very influential in the 1930s and 1940s. Etymologically, paran is difficult to pin down in translation. In O.J. it forms a question word, aparan, 'what, how, why, who', or paran, 'how, what, what manner of, like what, who' (Zoetmulder 1982; Purwadarminta 1939). In Modern Javanese glosses include 'goal, prince, request to God' (Prawiroatmojo); 'way, course, destination' (Horne 1974). It also has the sense of 'aim' (Teeuw and Robson 1981:41.7.c). Is there also a connection with Balinese parad, parab, 'name, label'? Dumadi is from dadi, 'becomes', with a passive -um infix giving 'the become', i.e., the creation.

33. Other variables might be noted here, particularly regarding identifications with death. In the Korawaśrama, this is the west (Swellengrebel 1977:89). Van Akkeren suggests likewise, including the phrase 'souls after death' (1973:29). This identification is understood to balance the east as point of origin or "root source" (Crawfurd 1820, Vol.I:316). Pigeaud offers an identification of east and west with male and female respectively (1977). Gonda, citing Moejen, explains how in Bali the four central pillars of a building each has an identification. That in the north-west is for Dewi Uma (favourable aspect of Siwa's spouse), and that in the north-east for Dewi Sri (1952:198), There are also data which imply that there was an order of precedence in Middle Java, west, east, north, south (Robson 1971:239 C3n 145a). Christie observes a displacement of north to west (1978:142-3), and Hobart also shows how north-west is a variable point in Bali (1978). Mellema suggests that bad luck comes from the north (1954:68), but Sumintardja thinks that north-facing houses bring good fortune (1974:25): two cases of ambiguities being ironed out. As a further caution against generalisation, it might be noted that in some villages near the south coast, houses tend to be built facing the sea (i.e., southwards): it is inauspicious to turn your back on Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul.

34. "Himagiri or Imagiri...originally is a name for the Himalāya... 'snow mountain'. In Java it is a locality on a hill near Yogyakarta where almost all princes of Surakarta and Yogyakarta were interred. It should be remembered that the Indian Pāṇḍavas, the reputed ancestors of the Javanese kings, left earth and entered heaven after having reached the Himalaya mountains" (Gonda 1952:217). See also Coedès where he says of Cambodia under Jayavarman that the centre of the kingly "temple court" was "mont d'or", "La corne d'or" (the golden mount/horn). Hemagiri, Mecacringagiri, was the classical designation of Meru, the cosmic Hindu Mountain (Coedès 1944:149-50). Before the time of Sultan Agung, Javanese kings were buried at Kota Gĕdhe, where Senapati founded the kingdom of Mataram, situated in Yogyakarta, but divided between Yogyakarta and Surakarta. There is a story about Sultan Agung's wish to be buried in Mecca, but when he arrived there (by magical means) to discuss the matter, he was thwarted by one Imam Sufingi, who sent him back to Java. Enraged, Agung complained to his wife, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, who took off with her spirit horde to Mecca, and struck it down with a terrible plague - one of her reputed powers, which has earned her the ascription tulaksari ('wrath of God'). Imam Sufingi finally conceded, granting Agung a piece of earth from Mecca which he could use to be buried in Java "in Mecca". After further misadventures involving the use of the soil by other Sultans, Agung finally comes to Imagiri, where, with the help of Sunan Kalijaga (this is implied only), he finds the burial ground which continues to be used to this day (Mandoyokusumo, n.d.).

35. Brongtodiningrat draws on a further set of correspondences using the Triloka model which he calls the tripusara (1975:13):

endraloka	heart	Baital Makmur:	order leading to understanding of budi or roh ilafi ('mind')
guruloka	head	Baital Mucharam:	forbidden place of the first will (wayahning hosik)
janaloka	secret part	Baital Muchadas:	very sacred and holy where there is love, but a calm, not a passion.

See further Chapter VII. Similar models may be found in Suluk Gatoloco (Anderson 1981-2) and Sĕrat Hikayat Jati (Ranggawarsita 1954).

36. The 1966 Programme for the ceremony stated that the meeting was between Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul and Panĕmbahan Senapati, not Sultan Agung (Surjadiningrat 1970:58).

37. This singing style, madrakara, is not learnt by the lower-ranking pĕsindhen ledhek in the palace. Tirtaamidjaja noted that only three singers proficient in the style remained in 1963 (1967:34-5). To my ear the style is reminiscent of kakawin and kidhung chanting in Bali. Is this accompaniment the survivor in Java of an older form of singing style? One might recall that part of the songs used for Bĕdhaya in general are kĕkawin.

38. Anderson (1967) gives the duration from the start of the first music to the Susuhunan's departure as approximately three-and-a-half hours. The dance, formerly two-and-a-half hours long, now takes one-and-a-half hours (Hadiwidjojo 1981:14-15). Anderson also observes that five of the nine dancers the year he attended (1963) were wives of Paku Buwana (1967:70). This seems different from today, where the surviving hereditary Bĕdhaya Ketawang dancers are supplemented by dancers from academies, and in one case recently, in spite of prohibitions, by one of the Susuhunan's daughters.

39. The question of guests has created a rift among palace officials, and many feel it inappropriate to give tickets to non-honorary guests. This practice started with an agreement between the official responsible for the palace administration of arts and culture, and the high-class Jakartan society, Mitra Budaya ('Companions of Culture'). Today, such 'Companions' comprise many of the guests. Anthropologists had to work hard to earn an invitation. In the past, ladies of foreign origin used to sit in the Sasana Handrawina, where the gamĕlan is situated.

40. Hadiwidjojo (1972:124) names the 'nine stars' (lintang sanga): Surya, Soma, Anggala, Buddha, Wrĕspati, Sukra, Saniscara, Rahu, Kĕtu, the Hindu names: the formation is called Klapa Dhoyong ('leaning coconut palm') in Javanese (1981:47). In the Indonesian version of this paper, he cites other Javanese names for stars and constellations: Lintang Luku, Lintang Kukusan, Gĕmak Tarung, Pancĕr Rina, Jaka Belek ('blinking bachelor'), Bima Sĕkti, Kuda Dhawuk; he does not mention the 'nine stars' here, nor does he establish correspondences. Tirtaamidjaja does not say anything about stars in his article on Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang. Having been aware of this identification, I made extensive efforts with a group I frequented (see Chapter VI) to identify constellations and their Javanese names. The dissent and argument which such sessions occasioned, as well as the difficulty in identifying which star a finger was pointing to, resulted in little progress being made in the field of Javanese astronomy.

41. "Susuhunan anglawat akeh rabine, Susuhunan, dha. Anglawat kathah garwa, dha. Susuhunan, dha sostya aglaring mĕga, Susuhunan, kadi lintang kuwasane" (from ms.G.30, Reksapustaka Library, Mangkunĕgaran). Cf. Hadiwidjojo 1921:91-2; Tirtaamidjaja 1967:Appendix II). I paraphrase the above as follows: "On expeditions the Susuhunan makes many marriages, he takes many wives, the Susuhunan, his eye (jewel?) extends like the clouds, Susuhunan, like the stars is his authority".

42. This prohibition was infringed by many present, including princes and princesses who snapped away unawed throughout the dance. Mindful of such prohibitions, I arrived without a camera, and during the course of the dance observed what appeared to be a green glow on the forehead of one of the dancers, though not Endhel. Could this have been Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul herself? Or was it the effect of a camera flash on the paraffin wax mixed into the hair make-up of the dancer, combined with expectation?

43. It was impossible to determine the lyrics at the moment when the dancers faced northwards, and given reservations about tying movement to song, it is probably not relevant. However, it is interesting to note that in one Sĕmang manuscript in Yogyakarta (BS 1B), there might be connections between the orientation of the dance as provided in the instructions, and the highly obscure lyrics. When Endhel, who has just come out of line, moves to the south and all the other dancers to the north (p.8, gong 18-19), the lyrics are "Welcome the coming of love" (songsong kasmarantrayan), which is appropriate in view of the love being of the Queen of the South Sea for the Sultan (cf. Chapter 1, Footnote 25). Secondly, towards the end of the dance, the lyrics suggest a cataclysm of some sort (perhaps even birth?), "water of the spirit seen to be born, the roaring rumbling shouts loudly" (jaladriya wat wat tinon, surak angrak graha gora gurnita), and all the dancers move south (p.12, gong 88-9). Finally, shortly after a reference to total upheaval, "destruction comes, destruction comes" (pralaya tĕka, pralaya tĕka), the dancers have to move "forward to the north", then to the east, where they sit briefly before a final short section leading to the close (p.13, gongs 104-8).

44. Prince Suryobrongto added that for this reason the scene starting at six in the morning often had Kresna or Rama (in the case of hybrid plots) coming out, and occasionally the Korawa; but never the Pandhawa (personal communication).

45. It is possible that an Austronesian pattern may emerge here, not so much with regard to where the Sultan sits, as to an identification between him and the pillars at the centre of the building. In Fiji, for example, there may often be an identification made between tree posts (in buildings) made of vesi wood and the chief's body substance. Also, in certain temples, priests used to sit by such posts and go into trance. The specifics of the practice vary according to region (Dr. Steven Hooper, personal communication).

46. This is unclear, for as far as was explained, such singers sit on the little section to the east of the stage called kuncung (see Figure 5). Maybe female singers once sat behind the stage, to the west, in Bĕdhaya performances. See also Footnote 52.

47. The first buildings of the palace are attributed to HBI who has a reputation as a master-architect. Photographs in Groneman's works show what the palace was like one hundred years ago, while Adam (1940) provides a map which specifies permanent and temporary buildings. Regarding the question of "reversed polarity", see Behrend 1984:34-6. "After the splitting of the kingdom, the palace organization of Yogyakarta was rearranged in such a way that an office that was classified as 'left-handed' in Surakarta (such as the Singanagaran/executioners), and was consequently housed west of the central axis of a ceremonial court became reclassified as 'right-handed' in the Yogyakarta administration. It followed that that corresponding building was necessarily relocated east of the central axis, though remaining in the same courtyard as its Surakartan counterpart".

48. Pigeaud illustrates this with reference to the two 'sides' of the shadow play, the Pandhawa and Korawa, who are often classed as right and left respectively: "With regard to the wayang it is also striking that in the eyes of the Javanese, the Right-handed group, the Younger Line (in the dualistic division) includes generally sympathetic figures, and Left, the Older line, the opposite. This is somewhat in contradiction to the petungan (in the Fourfold division), where West and North (the Younger) are associated with misfortune and adversity" (1977:76). For more details on binary classifications, see van der Kroef 1954.

49. See Anderson 1965, whose view differs from that of Becker who adopts a more binary style (1979). Might this perhaps reflect a genuine difference of emphasis in Yogyakartan shadow plays from those in Surakarta? Or is it yet another instance of how Western interpretations have been adopted by the Javanese and been fed back to the next wave of researchers?

50. The question of 'how many bĕdhaya?' could take up many pages. It was suggested that the original form had eight dancers, and the visiting Ratu Kidul would make the number up to nine; a development of this is that in Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, the seated Susuhunan becomes a tenth dancer (Hadiwidjojo 1981). This was derided in Yogyakarta. Historical sources suggest that there were between five and nineteen dancers (de Graaf 1956), and also eight dancers (Raffles 1978). By the end of the nineteenth century, it seems that nine is standard (Mayer 1897; Groneman 1888). With regard to the number seven, one legend of origin has as dancers seven heavenly nymphs, and some think that the 'authentic' form would thus have had seven dancers, as is the practice in the Mangkunĕgaran in Surakarta today (see van Lelyveld 1922:30, who manages to mix up Bĕdhaya Sĕmang with a Srimpi; and van Helsdingen Schoevers, n.d.). Even correlations between status and number do not seem watertight. The Regent of Ponorogo is said to have had seven groups of nine bĕdhaya in 1755 (Soerjadiningrat, n.d.; Suharti 1972). For the most evolved compositional interpretations, nine dancers are required; the number has both Hindu-Javanese and Islamic associations (Pudjasworo 1982:40-50). As ever, it seems that to hypostatise is dangerous. Indeed, today changes in Bĕdhaya originate from inside the palace as well as from outside. Bĕdhaya Sangaskara uses six dancers to depict the course of love, concluding in marriage, and is sometimes performed at marriages of the children of the Sultan. Sapta Bĕdhaya uses seven dancers. There is some confusion about this dance: some say it originates from the time of HBII, not the present Sultan, and that its story is the rout of Madiun; others that it does not have a Bĕdhaya-like choreography, and that the story comes from Sunda. The final word is that it was first performed in the 1940s, having as theme the establishment of the boundaries of Sunda by Sultan Agung (Soedarsono et al. 1978).

51. See also d'Almeida's comments about performance in the mid-nineteenth century: "Tumĕnggung Mĕrtonĕgara of Yogyakarta had a performance with six vocalists performing an eulogium on the last review of

His Majesty's troops", followed by six dancers ("sĕrimpis"), and then six girls gave a "buksan...a scenic performance" about Prabu Sindolo who turned into a bird (1864, Vol.II:154-9). Might there be a connection between this last and Srimpi Rĕnggawati as performed in the palace?

52. Groneman's description of female singers who accompanied the shadow play as "taledhek" might be noticed here (1888:37; cf. also Footnote 37). Informants remembered a distinction between singers for Bĕdhaya and Srimpi who were attached to the female quarters, and those for Wayang Wong, a distinction which no longer obtains. It should be observed here that in spite of their dubious reputation, tledhek and ronggeng often had as their songs parts of the highly philosophical Sĕrat Wĕdhatama (Suharto 1980:45ff.). Although Bĕdhaya dancers have been characterised as the descendants of India's dancer-priestesses (devadasi) (Holt 1967), it has recently been put forward that ronggeng have more in common with the latter, in principle if not by diffusion. It is a sign of changing ideas about these dancers that the Bĕdhaya may be described as the Tayub of the palace (Suharto 1980).

53. Cf. Subagyo 1981:112, who refers to the Pakon dance from Lombok (to the east of Bali) in which the dancer goes into trance and selects a cure for the sick person; the dance is accompanied by offerings of water, eggs, coconut, and flowers; a healer (dukun) says a prayer during the dance.

54. The velvet jerkin used by most female dancers in Yogyakarta is viewed as more modest than the bared shoulders of Surakarta. It is also believed to be an older form of costume. Female costume in Surakarta is seen by Yogyakartans as resembling that of ronggeng. Informants recollected with glee how dancers had on occasions failed to notice that their strapless bodices had slipped to reveal more than was decent (susila). As it is, the armpit alone is a highly eroticised part of the body in Java.

55. This language is still used among older palace officials, and consists of eleven words, nine of which are still current: henggeh (yes); mboya (no); mĕnira (I, me, mine); pĕkĕnira (you); pĕnapi (what); pĕniki (here); pĕniku (there); wĕntĕn (there is/are); nĕda (if you please: = the ubiquitous Javanese '(su)mangga'); bĕsahos (just); seyos (not, other) (Brongtodiningrat 1974:7). In Wayang Wong, in addition to all the Javanese speech levels and this bagongan, there are also three levels which are used by the god-characters: ngoko dewa, krama dewa, and bagongan dewa, characterised by a great deal of Old Javanese vocabulary (Soedarsono 1984:189-92).

56. It has been said that "There is no point in trying to determine the 'nature' of masks, because it is their nature not to have a nature but to encompass all natures" (Girard 1977:165). From this perspective, the palace practice may be understood as a restriction on the uncontrollable within the realm of performance, replacing it with a purposive act of service to the king.

57. In connection with this might be noted among senior palace officials in Yogyakarta a highly ambiguous attitude to questions concerning Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul. Sometimes people said that in Yogyakarta it was never believed that she came to the performance of the special Bĕdhaya Sĕmang, equivalent to the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang in Surakarta (see Chapter VIII), and that in Surakarta people were "in the clouds". Senior officials in the Widyabudaya Library embarked on a version of the account of the meeting of Senapati and the Queen, with Senapati, having been warned that he would meet this legendary lady, walking along the beach, thinking the first woman he met was Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, and subsequently going off with her (this story was told in fast ngoko, and presumably was not for the ethnographer's ears, but it conveys something of the variety of attitudes towards 'beliefs'). The connection of the Sultan and Ratu Kidul is anomalous, though logical in terms of legitimising strategies. For many, however, there is still much fear adhering to the figure of Ratu Kidul, and attempts in the early 1970s to revive the Sĕmang were preceded by a massive trip to the coast to make offerings, as well as expensive offerings before each rehearsal of dance or orchestra (Suharti 1972). On sexual grounds her exclusion from the palace in some senses is apt.

58. From the Arabic terms which are zāhir and bāṭin (Nasr 1975); cf. Gonda 1952:161.

59. Suryadi 1980:157: "Tata lahirnya, saya hanya babu
tapi batinnya, saya selir baru"

60. This word is from Skt 'authority for a religious doctrine' (Maxwell 1920:32), in the sense of a set of texts. Ugama is sometimes used, though less frequently today.

61. This should be understood as exempt from the charge of fallacy which Wallace (1970) has argued is at work in what he calls the 'microcosmic metaphor', as he describes this as a theoretical tendency to see a person embodying a culture. As will be seen in so far as there is a microcosmic metaphor in Java, it ensures that no one embodies a culture. For further examples of Javanese formulations, see Soebardi 1975:120, verses 29-30 .

62. The Javanese bridegroom is a 'king' (Fischer, cited by van der Kroef 1954:852). The image of the shadow play is also used to express similar ideas about man: "The meaning of the screen is 'body',/ While wayang is the inner soul,/ The dhalang is the Messenger,/ The bĕlencong (lamp) is the Light of Life,/ The outer form of being;/ This Light of Life of yours throughout/ Your body radiates,/ Inside, outside, above, below,/ Your outer form is thus the outer form of God (Pangeran: prince, Lord)". Sĕrat Gaṭoloco, translated by Anderson (1981-2, part I :136). This may be compared with a similar passage in Sĕrat Niti Praja (Raffles 1978:274-6). The contemporary 'mystical' group, Pangestu, also uses the idiom of king. "A man who is an actual king becomes an ideal (cita-cita Jav.) of perfect man in general,

to practise (tapa Jav.) one's personal development in order to achieve that aspect (sikap) of life which is characterized (bercirikan) as 'overcoming the self' (mawas diri Jav.)" (de Jong 1976:53, my translation from the Indonesian text). Later de Jong refers to a Yogyakartan text, Suksma Supana (by Kyai Martawahana, 47-9), where the palace (kraton) is both body and self, where one is able to face the king (or God), and also hati manusia (the 'liver', i.e. 'heart' of mankind). To face the king is compared to a favoured state of 'death in life' (mati sajroning hidup Jav.) also discussed in Serat Wedhatama. What de Jong's argument does is to frame Christian penitence in terms of the subject facing the king (1976:117-9). Cf. also 'The king is the heart of the world' (ratu atining jagad); 'the heart is king within the body' (Ati ratuning badan) (Soebardi 1975:84, verses 29-30); 'like a puppet is your body' (lir wayang sarireku) (1975:123-4, verse 43); but see further on sarira, Chapter VII.

63. The problems of translating percaya as 'belief' or 'to believe' have been discussed by Needham (1972). The current Sultan of Yogyakarta is also somewhat oblique on the matter of beliefs and superstitions, and what the holding or believing of the latter might be (Mochtar 1982:113). See also Slamet's opinion here: "Among Javanese, as well as among many South East Asian peoples, the ultimate aim of religion is not correct belief, nor correct dogma, but correct behaviour" (1975:35). Hardjowirogo also discusses the nominal character of religious practice in Java (1983:17).

CHAPTER VI

JAVANESE DISCOURSE: STRUCTURE AND SENSE

If the Javanese give anything a name, they will certainly give it a meaning (Kuswadji, n.d.:133).[1]

For the Javanese nothing is without meaning and consequently he is apt to search for meaning in acts, words, or situations, however rationally incomprehensible or unimportant they may seem (Moertono 1968:20).

The objects in this world
Are only nine. For in the task
Of calculation we
No more than ciphers nine employ.
Beyond these nine no other ciphers lie to hand.
So when we reach the sum of 'ten'
We must return to 'one' again
(Sĕrat Gaṭoloco. Anderson 1981-2:64).

Reference is only relatively fixed (Whorf 1956:258-9).

It is the very euphoria of simulation, that sees itself as the abolition of cause and effect, the beginning and the end, for all of which it substitutes reduplication. In this manner all closed systems protect themselves at the same time from the referential - as well as from all metalanguage that the system forestalls in playing at its own metalanguage, that is to say in duplicating itself in its own critique of itself. In simulation, the metalinguistic illusion duplicates and completes the referential illusion (pathetic hallucination of the sign and pathetic hallucination of the real)....The banality of earthly habitat lifted to the rank of cosmic value, of absolute decor - hypostatized in space - this is the end of metaphysics, the end of hyperreality that begins (Baudrillard 1983:148-9).

We do not desire things because we know them to be good and useful; but we know them to be good and useful, because we desire them. Here too, the rapidity with which the facts of consciousness follow one another has given rise to an illusion. Practical action is preceded by knowledge, but not by practical knowledge, or rather, knowledge of the practical: to obtain this we must first have practical imagination (Croce 1909:49).

The argument has reached a point for a detailed examination of how connections between experience and language are made in Javanese discourse. The overall objective remains the clarification of criteria of interpretation and sense-making as demonstrated in and through dance, but this chapter, while developing ideas already introduced, may stray a little in considering other strategies. In so far as many Javanese hold that their culture is "education in disguise", disguise and allusion need consideration, as do repetition and transformability of sense. The aim of this chapter then is to clarify further what the (cultural) presuppositions entailed in cara jawa might be.

In Chapter V a point of crisis in translation was reached with regard to the significance of the predicate "is", and what this implied for classificatory structures. Here we shall consider further how in discourse (as well as in grammar), there are implications for the presence implied in "is", and what might be revealed by taking a different approach, or, applying some of the ideas which have already been considered. We should remember, for example, Goodman's understanding of symbolisation in terms of removes of predicates from objects, and the different kinds of signification, such as exemplification and so forth, which challenge the view of symbols as corresponding to actualities (see Geertz 1973:Ch.5). Even more extreme is the position of Derrida who uses a concept of his own devising, "différance" (a collation of 'difference' between the signifier and the signified, and 'deferral'), to challenge radically the presence of "is", and to make possible the presentation of "the being-present without actually presenting itself as such" (1968:44).[2] Such a premise is not only in accord with analytical tendencies touched upon so far, but may also serve

to further dislodge and review some of the positions ethnographic discourse has contrived to put the Javanese into. We have already seen the decentring of concepts such as 'palace', and one instance of the way in which a lair ('exoteric') perspective is undercut by that of batin ('esoteric'), and the generation of other associations, in what might be termed a metaphysics of possibility, a kind of endless deferral. Dance questions also illustrate this process: why is dance performed in the palace? Because the palace is important. Why is the palace important? Because it has dance. Why is dance important? And so forth. It could be argued that something is valued because it exists only in the deferring.

As the title of this chapter suggests, the enquiry here refers to discourse. Discourse is used rather than language to maximise the self-conscious and self-reflexive use of language in its incarnation as speech (parole). It is used self-critically, to contrast with objects and institutions (and commentary) to articulate instead areas of formulation such as practice, happening (and discourse). The chief rhetorician of discourse, the already-said and the never-said, is Foucault (1972:25) who explains that "Discourse...is not a consciousness that embodies its project in the external forms of language (langue); it is not a language (langue), plus a subject to speak it. It is a practice that has its own forms of sequence and succession" (1972:169).[3] Ricoeur brings to discourse the notion of process: "...a universe kept in motion by an interplay of attractions and repulsions that ceaselessly promote the interaction and intersection of domains whose organizing nuclei are off-centred in relation to one another, and still this interplay never comes to rest in an absolute knowledge that

would subsume the tensions" (1977:302, my emphasis). Lacan's observation that "All discourse is aligned along the several staves of a score" (cited in Bowie 1979:143) also points to the notion of play and deferral of actualised sense pointed to by Derrida. If only for this, and its capacity to bring to language-use a sense of process, contingency, and orientability with regard to dimensions and history, is the term used here. Discourse is akin to cara jawa; it has already been suggested that there is no word for 'culture' as such in Javanese, jawa presupposing it. Naluri ('things handed down', see also Chapter VII) also has this force, as does the condition of events being 'as it happened' or 'it so happened that' (pinuju; kebetulan B.I.). The process encapsulated in durung ('not yet') also testifies to a processual, becoming, quality, in the relation between language and events, suggesting that discourse is not a wholly useless or specious import. One concept may be taken as a preliminary example.

(i) Rukun: Sense of the Social

This term is a part of ethnographic discourse for Java, and has been discussed in relation to specific acts of communal work as "traditionalised co-operation", which ties groups together "not so much by appealing to vague notions of universal brotherhood as by defining actual modes, means, and forms of specifically limited inter-individual co-operation within clearly defined social contexts" (Geertz 1960:61). Jay, however, notes that it refers to "a desirable state of society and a satisfying social relationship" (1969:66), though not without important qualification, as we shall see. Mulder has seen in it a manifestation of "mechanical solidarity" (1978:99-100), which gives rise to the

impression that there are social concepts in Java which testify to their realisation of the ground of a Durkheimian model of functional harmony. This requires discussion.

Rukun is inscribed in the urban community by naming its units, Rukun Tetangga (RT), and Rukun Kampung (RK). Here it refers to shared practical interests such as the maintenance and repair of facilities used by the community, such as paths and alleys;[4] preparations for special festivities such as those held for independence commemorations; and also the practice of women who help (rewang) to prepare wedding foods in the household of the bride's family where the first reception is held. In spite of Geertz's comment, this execution of work is more often described as gotong-royong, which describes the carrying out of an activity according to rukun.[5]

Questions about what rukun is elicited various responses from informants. Apart from being described in terms of emotional bases, vague unspecified motivations, and foundations, the most significant description was as something which is "not disruptive or disharmonious" (mbotĕn nate sulaya). It is interesting that it was described in these negative terms, and not as the opposite of sulaya, which is cocog (cocok B.I.), a very commonly used word for fittingness and thus harmony. Ethnographic evidence suggests that there is good reason for this, and that the Javanese tend to avoid confusion of concepts and realities, and do not identify rukun as or with cocog when it is more evidently a a possible (and hypothetical) means to that end. It seems best to understand by rukun less a spirit of co-operation than a concern with "harmonious appearances" (Geertz 1961:146). It is also different from rame, a word evoking a more emotional feeling of 'liveliness'

valued in communal events and outings, which is sometimes contrasted with valued personal behaviour as alus (see further Chapter VII). Rame has been seen as expressing "the importance of participation in the notion of group" (Jay 1969:217).

As such, it is a mechanism for integration, and excludes responsibility (rasa tanggung jawab B.I.) involving the batin ('inner') perspective (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:88-92). It is thus described by what it is not, most Javanese knowing better than to treat it as a fact of life (or a social fact). Anthropologists usually have to learn this during fieldwork. Thus, a village head is quoted as saying that "A group cannot stay together long because their thinking cannot remain in agreement" (Jay 1969:204), which in itself may seem nothing extraordinary, but is if one has acquired the notion that the Javanese are solidarity incarnate. There is evidence that harmony may only exist by negative capability. "I am always careful not to cause a divorce", said one villager. "For this reason I speak to my wife as seldom as possible" (Geertz 1961:136). My own experience living in a kampung in Yogyakarta showed conflict, not harmony, to be the most likely effect of living in close proximity with other people, even if they were Javanese, and this tallies with Sullivan's experience in a different kampung where, far from living up to its name as Rukun Kampung, the community became a place for conflict as much as fellowship.[6]

Rukun is clearly less a case of wishful thinking or aspiration to a social ideal than a notion which shows the recognition of constraints. It is best understood as a Javanese idea not only about social life and the lair world of appearances, but also about conflict, and, by implication, people. Its official government usage (to designate social

units) may be compared to the concept 'tolerance' (toleransi B.I.) which featured in accounts of Indonesia before 1965,[7] and like this may be understood to represent a propagandist design to promote non-violence and social harmony, though with a different implication:

> Toleransi (tolerance) is a way to reduce conflict without, as it were, recognizing the ideological stand of the others...Although it is still widely used in religious spheres, the word kerukunan (social harmony) seems to be gaining ground in recent years. 'Tolerance' expresses an attitude; it does not explain more than a willingness to see religious differences as an unavoidable reality in the increasingly pluralistic society. The emphasis on kerukunan, on the other hand, is a recognition of the existence of a conflict situation, as well as a plan to establish an ideal state, which could accommodate all the differences on the basis of state ideology.... It is, therefore, understandable that kerukunan has been elaborated and organizational linkages formed (Abdullah 1981:70, 66).

It might be noted that the Indonesian usage of rukun (and kerukunan) has fed back into Javanese ideas of it, as is evident from the more general comments about rukun noted above. It seems that earlier treatments of rukun (and other 'social' concepts) have tended to both functionalise and idealise the Javanese, but without sufficient examination of how such concepts do work - as already hazarded, by negative capability. As will be seen in the case of rasa (Chapter VII, Section iii), the way a culture handles such ideas demonstrates more a case of immanence and deferral than an idealised and imminent realisation. This would indicate that the concept, as that of the 'Just King' (Ratu Adil), gains value by virtue of its absence, rather than imminent fulfilment. It serves instead as a countervailing shadow, an exemplification of itself which helps to make the present bearable, although it is a precondition itself very much in absentia. One is again reminded of the questioning of presence, itself taken as categorical in Western thinking, above.[8]

If structural-functionalism has generated images of the Javanese which have necessitated an ethnography of reaction (as in the case of Jay and co. above), it has also tended to treat the Javanese as quasi Protestants, men in search of ideals, and has overlooked such displacements as were illustrated above (Chapter V, Section iv), and also features of Javanese discourse, quite independently of other factors such as the resource of the double perspective of lair-batin.

The case of rukun may provide a different handle for what Anderson perhaps was trying to say in his discussion of the shadow play (sic) as being extendable to Javanese experience as "a stable world based on conflict" (1965:5). This could perhaps be reformulated as "an immanent world based on absence". While the question of conflict will be taken up again in Chapter VIII, it is relevant to anticipate the argument here in relation to rukun and the avoidance of conflict, and to note that in Yogyakarta, and most of all the palace, conflict is both an ideology and an actuality (in dance forms). Yogyakarta is founded on conflict and remains to this day ideologically rebellious. At the same time, it has become in the Republic of Indonesia a symbol of unity. The national motto, Bhinneka Ika Tunggal ('Unity in Diversity') is not only in Javanese, but may be understood to express a Javanese paradigm: the presence of diversity, and the deferral of unity. While conflict may reveal rukun, the two concepts are not essentially opposed, but should rukun or unity become imminent, conflict and disagreement are likely to manifest themselves. Political problems arise if rukun is taken literally and reified (as in the case of RT and RK), and to this extent it could be claimed that structural-functionalism of the decade before 1965 heralds the Orde Baru ('New Order') which prevails in Indonesia today.[9]

The implications of behaviourist tendencies in theory which stresses the power 'to understand' (verstehen) at the expense of 'to experience' (erleben) (Ions 1977:149) might be noted in passing, as they bear on the drift of the argument which will now proceed to discuss, in view of this preliminary discussion, other factors that a Javanese discourse might involve.

(ii) Formality and Fracture

If a certain decentring has been at work, a similar action must be applied to this reappraisal of how it is that the Javanese have come to be treated as 'aesthetic'. If the relation between speech and reality has puzzled some interpreters, as in the case of Geertz, who deals with a practice known as ethok-ethok, one of many involving the dissimulation of certain facts and feelings, as an aberration of language of 'truth', with the Javanese emerging as people who when on their best behaviour "avoid gratuitous truths" (1960:245-6), then surely there is a strong case for raising questions about the extent to which such expectations (i.e. of 'telling the truth' in speech) are useful, and where they might lead (or mislead: 'aesthetic' presumably applies to those who do not tell the truth: we are back to eighteenth-century debates about the imagination, it would seem).

I do not propose to deal with all the enormous questions which this could lead to, but instead, to suggest a model which does not create separations between language as factual and as poetic (or 'lies'), and then consider some instances in Javanese discourse which might have led to such suppositions but which, in view of the model, may be quite normal (for want of a better word). This will be followed by an

interlude to give a picture of people engaging in discursive practices, and the discussion will finally turn to consider explanations and associations.

It is necessary to make familiar certain Javanese use of language such as levels which have been treated as strangely formal, and to move from an emphasis on 'content' to non-referential aspects which may take into account impetuses in language-use deriving from sound associations and other features which have traditionally been seen as poetic not 'normal' speech. This is in keeping with questions made about the separability of 'art' earlier. Jakobson has already raised such issues:

> Any attempt to reduce the sphere of poetic function to poetry or to confine poetry to poetic function would be a delusive oversimplification. Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art, but only its dominant determining function, whereas in all other verbal activities it acts as a subsidiary, accessory constituent. This function, by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects. Hence, when dealing with poetic function, linguistics cannot limit itself to the field of poetry (1978:356).

Taking the fundamental functions of language (left, 1978:353), Jakobson then illustrates the poetic dimension (right, 1978:357)

	Context		Referential
	Message		Poetic
Addresser	---------- Addressee	Emotive	---------- Conative
	Contact		Phatic
	Code		Metalingual

Briefly, the referential is the "denotative, cognitive" function; the emotive "tends to produce an impression of emotion, whether true or feigned"; the conative is the orientation towards the addressee;[10] the phatic, to borrow Malinowski's term, corresponds to 'contact' and is "a profuse exchange of ritualised formulae, entire dialogues with the mere purpose of prolonging communication"; the metalingual is a function for checking up on code use; and the poetic is the "focus on the message for its own sake" (1978:353-6). This model will be referred to in specific cases below. Some Javanese data will now be presented.

One cannot discourse in Javanese without having resource to up to nine language codes, made up of three main codes (ngoko, madya, krama) in combination with each other and/or two sets of honorifics (krama andhap and krama inggil).[11] Javanese today express anxiety about decreasing mastery of these codes, but one cannot help wondering to what extent such a mastery was ever general; it is more likely to have been the province of certain groups in particular places.[12]

Competence in code use entails the imputing of age and status to other Javanese relative to oneself, based on knowledge or estimates of these factors. Individuals thus allocate themselves a position every time they speak or are addressed. This reinforces impressions which are based on appearances, which Javanese will classify as lair ('external' factors). Careful usage of codes is demanded in intimate as well as public space. Traditional usage requires a wife to show more constraint and deference to her husband than he to her, and she will use full honorifics if not actually pitching her utterance in krama, addressing him as 'Older Brother' (Kang, Kang Mas, Raka), while he will speak to her in plain ngoko as 'Younger Sister' (Dik Ajĕng, Jĕng).

Urban aristocrats in Yogyakarta today claim to favour reciprocal ngoko, though professional middle classes appear to preserve some honorific usage to husbands. In most circles children over the age of five are encouraged, with varying degrees of success, to honour their father and mother in their use of speech.

To be safe speaking Javanese, a simple rule emerges. It is better to be polite (and use krama) than to be too familiar. This works for first-impression management, although as a relationship develops, it becomes (as do distance-preserving strategies in our own language), a hindrance. The qualities of sound in different language codes enhance this. Krama is considered melodious, measured, and soft. It should be accompanied by appropriate gestures. Indeed, without such gestures, it is not considered successful, and addressees will feel discomforted, however perfect the linguistic mastery. An informant described this by accompanying a sentence with a gentle forward inclination of the shoulders, pointing out that this makes for speech which is 'complete' (jangkĕp). Another person present said that such actions could be compared to the 'accompaniment' (iringan) of a gĕndhing. Without such gestures, discourse is unfinished. The use of the thumb, resting on top of a loosely curled right fist rising and falling with the speech cadences as it does in dialogues in Wayang Wong, is also usual in krama. Otherwise, hands should be still: one does not fidget or gesticulate in krama. Ngoko and lower madya have a bickering insolent tone, a ragged, fraying texture, a screeching nasal laugh (in krama one merely smiles), and infantile-like changes in the lengths of sounds - wis ('already, yes') becomes wish. Such features are recognised by the Javanese and fully exploited in comic performances (including clowning

sections of Wayang Wong and shadow play). There is a hint of contempt here, a hostility and a proximity to open physical violence which tends to be overlooked if one concentrates on polite areas of speech behaviour. The rhythms of krama are the rhythms of dance-measures as they are practised in the palace, and while these do not exclude the possibility of violence, it is kept under a strict rein (see also subsequent chapters).

The ideas of balance and appropriate placing as criteria for evaluating behaviour have already been discussed. Language practices are included in these overriding concerns. One informant's language 'philosophy' (falsafah) comprised four elements. Firstly, fact (nyata, tĕmĕn); actually, reality (bĕnĕr, kĕbĕnĕran), don't tell lies, don't exaggerate or diminish. Secondly, the same as this, with the additional warning not to gossip about bad things (sing elek), or slander people (dipunrasani). Thirdly, language (basa) as above, but done in a manner (cara) which is nice (apik). Finally, unggah-ungguh, which is appropriate behaviour (tindak-tanduk) with people, also ĕmpan-papan.[13] One might notice that apart from the supposedly modern use of 'philosophy' what is presented here as being about language is in fact about action, language being only one specification (the third element). The formulation is tautological, the categories presupposing each other: if one does not already know what it intends, it is not going to say much.

To an outsider, conversations between Javanese may appear to have an en garde quality of defensiveness about them, possibly more so in exchanges between unequals. It may be significant here that the word offered for 'communication' in Javanese when I queried the prevalent usage of 'komunikasi' in Indonesian, was said to be sambĕtan (also

'continuation, connection'), and used also for the fighting exchanges between puppets in the shadow play. Javanese of all backgrounds are sensitive to the statuses which codes impute to them (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:44; also Djajengwasito 1979), to the extent that they may restrict their sphere of interaction, it has been argued, rather than having to face the embarrassment of placing an unknown person, or handling a rusty system of honorifics (Poedjosoedarmo 1983). Mismanaged language has the power to create bad rasa (sense), both in others and oneself. As one person put it, "I don't want to hurt him so I conceal my rasa; if I hurt him, I hurt myself". The next step conceivably could be: "Therefore, I conceal my rasa to protect myself". Some Javanese might object that the 'I' (aku) is part of a larger communal aku so this formulation lacks significance. However, there are many strategic practices in language-use which do not endorse this view as being consistently relevant.

The strategies mentioned take the form of dissimulations of various kinds. The most important recognition of this is expressed in the positively attributed notion of andhap-asor or 'self-lowering', which bears particularly on the use of abasing honorifics (krama andhap) of oneself, concomitantly with high honorifics towards an (imputed) superior. Thus, if one is making a statement to somebody that uses the word 'speak', it creates a good impression if one uses not the plain krama term for 'say', carios , but instead, of oneself, matur k.a., and of one's addressee, ngëndika k.i. (Poedjosoedarmo 1969).

This hedging of one's bets fulfils the prerequisites for politeness in Javanese. However, it is misrepresentative to see in such a strategy the symptoms of a cowering, bowing and scraping Javanese,

operating from a defensive position. Inherent in this deferential behaviour is also an offensive strategy - albeit carefully dissimulated - which takes the form of a power to manipulate by deferring, as the person being deferred to is put into a position of obligation with respect to the one deferring (Dewey 1978). A devious and linguistically adept Javanese may also take pleasure in forcing an interlocutor into defensive self-lowering by establishing a competition in politeness, which may be spiced by the choice of terms used of a third party who may or may not be present at the time.

This forcing of good manners is one way used to explain the manifestation of 'consideration for others' (tĕpa-slira) in Javanese discourse (Kartomihardjo 1981:27). A large university in Yogyakarta recognised the implications of this, and attempted to enforce the use of Indonesian language on campus. The grounds for this were that while a (Javanese) lecturer could not easily turn down a request made to him in polite Javanese with honorifics fully mustered, he would probably be able to turn down the same request made in Indonesian, presumably by a non-Javanese student. To master Javanese in Yogyakarta is clearly to enhance one's chances of success. However, there are other factors which bear on the way language-use constitutes power relations, and one way employed recently to reduce the potency of Javanese has been to condemn it as an anachronism in contrast to the Indonesian language[14] - though this itself could be understood as a dissimulatory move.

The manipulative power of self-abasement also tends to endorse the defensive position of someone in authority, leading to the familiar suspicion of bureaucrats and the well-established in sit-coms. This may occasion even further strategies using dissimulating and 'fine'

language (subasita). For either party to determine what the request might be is also a matter for deduction and negotiation, and more often than not may take several occasions before the requirement is clarified. More often than not, the intimated facts will have been understood before the suitor needs to spell them out.[15] Such a capacity to read through the obliqueness and insinuation is considered to be 'traditional'. The same procedure applies to the giving of commands or instructions. A command which conceals its own nature as a command, pĕrintah alus, was standard practice in the early 1900s, and an indigenous white-collar worker or official (priyayi) depended for his success on his ability to infer quite what it was his superior was commanding. (This is similar to having to interpret 'yes' today.)

The system of influence persists in Indonesian hierarchies today, and like most recurrent phenomena, has been given a name: 'A B S', which stands for asal bapak senang B.I., 'as long as the boss is happy' (Lubis 1977:24). In some cases commands may be so 'refined' as to be unuttered, and employees have to prove themselves by anticipating what the boss might (have) like(d). This is also a stock comic situation, and not just an Indonesian one.

Another form of dissimulation has been noted by a Javanese commentator who terms such strategies ngrambyang ('to wander'), adding that "You can never get exactness (kepastihan B.I.) in the reply of a Javanese" (Hardjowirogo 1983:64). Examples however show that such practices show more specification than 'Western' discourses, putting in wider perspectives instances of the speaker's capacity to know and predict. Such caveats and qualifications may also be used with something other than metaphysical sensitivity, that is, with ironical deliberation, as will be seen.[16]

In general, if one asks a question about what a person thinks about something, the usual response is "I don't know (wĕruh, ngĕrti, nggaggas)". The same information, introduced by "What is your sense (rasa ng., rumaos k.) of...?" is likely to stimulate lengthy replies to the questions and more. Such replies are often framed to show how far factuality may be assumed by the use of prefacing phrases: "My sense of the matter is (rumaos kula k.)"; "It is said that (jarene ng.)"; "Perhaps, possibly (mbokmĕnawi k)"; "kula wastani k. (literally, 'I name (it)')".[17] These framing statements tend to put the informative status of the utterance in inverted commas, at various removes from, or deferring of, 'the truth'. In so far as such elements are establishing the limits of code, although they differ from Jakobson's examples (which are along the lines of "Do you get my meaning?"), there is a sense of the metalingual function coming in. Statements are specified with regard to being spoken by a speaker, and are not independent of the intention of that source. At the same time, one should notice in other areas of discourse a preference for the passive voice, and verbal prefixes which endow events with the condition of happening, rather than being caused to occur by a subject.[18]

It may be a similar reluctance within the discourse to present information as absolute (even if only relatively so) which arises in the use of "yes" and "no". The use of "not yet" (durung) instead of "no" has already been noted. In general, "yes" is preferred to "no", irrespective of one's feelings or intentions, affirmative answers being felt more considerate to the questioner, as they go along with him or her. Thus one occasionally hears a reply "yes no"; negative questions are always answered in the affirmative: "It didn't rain yesterday,

did it?" "Yes, it didn't rain yesterday." A literary example, "If/perhaps yes..." offers also a hint of irony (Mandoyokusumo, n.d.:8). It is less misleading perhaps to treat the Javanese "yes" as equivalent to "I have heard", rather than assent or agreement.[19]

Such strategies or discursive features have created the suspicion that the Javanese are trapped in a mode of perpetual irony (i.e., the substitution of the signified by its opposite), with "yes" being given for "no". One does not, however, necessarily improve one's chances of correct inference by avoiding questions requiring "yes" or "no" replies. During field work, "why" questions have been answered with the word "yes".[20] In this instance, I suspect that it signified "I have heard, and have nothing to say to you about that".

Statements of intent which imply prediction also involve a "wandering". The rationalisation of this is explained as the ever-present possibility of something not happening or being actualised (ora sida) due to the intervention of fate (nasib) or God's Will (takdir). It is not only practising Moslems who append statements of intent with insya-Allah (Allah willing - like the British habit of writing 'd.v.'). The building into a statement of intention the possibility of non-occurrence is similar to the notion that information given by one person at a particular time may be invalidated in some way. Such styles may be understood as tacit acknowledgements of the uncontrollable, within the discourse, as well as convenient ways of getting out of tricky situations. Enquiries about future events may be answered in the affirmative with little reason apart from the satisfaction of the criteria of politeness (or discourse), and to make the recipient feel good. On turning up according to plan, and finding nothing, the

Javanese response is to shrug and leave, without reactions of anger. Such is cara jawa.

It is perhaps symptomatic of this that the grammatical marker for forms such as exhortations, wishes, conditions, and hypotheses, is a final '-a' (sambawa), often lost in speech, causing the hypothetical and actual to merge. Logical conjunctions also have wide spans of inflection by which sense can be carried in different directions. For example, the word yen (or mĕnawa ng., mĕnawi k.) is given examples by Purwadarminta (1939) which illustrate seven uses, including optionality, temporality, possibility, warning, conjunction and hypothesis.

To look for significance simply as propositional in language-use is clearly to be barking up the wrong semantic tree. As is evident in Jakobson's model, it is the putting, as much as what is put, that counts, and this is both acknowledged and highlighted in Javanese terminology about communication, which suggests a relation with non-referential functions of language as Jakobson defines them, particularly with the 'emotive' function which bears on the manipulations of codes.

Commands and wishes are also couched in suggestions, insinuations, hints, generalities, particularities, and inversions, often with no apparent relation to the matter in hand. As will be argued further below, it is not only one's meaning, but also implications, associations and evocations, that are preferred to be tangential rather than fully frontal. Should the Javanese seem somewhat devious, one should note that the comic potential of such tendencies is fully realised and exploited, both in drama and in conversation. The use of a tag such as 'A B S' (above) says not only something about naming, but also how strategies and discourses are perceived. Like 'refined' behaviour

(alus, tending to the unnatural), one has the most to lose (or gain) in strategic use of codes, but such usage is also the most subject to disrespect.

Other strategies suggest that people are not bound in the prison-house of codes (or levels), nor protected by them in any ultimate way. Options obtain between the gradual inflection of codes in such a way that to represent them as cases of formal determinism is misleading. Limitations arise from a lack of language competence and thus control of discourse, not from anything inherent in the fact of there being levels. There are also means to by-pass the requirements of dissimulation and the constraining of one's 'inner' feelings by appearances of politeness, without entailing bad rasa. This strategy may be termed indirection.

This word derives from the discussion about "non-directed speech" by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:70-9) who are among the first to have presented an analysis showing the codes in action and pointing to their particular uses and abuses. In brief, indirection allows the disregarding of ëmpan-papan, by negating the personal emotive aspect of code use, and generalising the addressee as if to oneself in plain ngoko. This involves the shifting of speech from the sphere of appearance (lair) to the appearance of the less mediated and controlled 'inner' sphere of batin (see further Chapter VII). This 'as if' internalisation frees the utterance from constraints of politeness (either conventional or manipulative), allowing it to be daring, blunt, shocking, and, by implication, funny. It thus allows things to be articulated which the normal rules of Javanese discourse otherwise make virtually impossible to say.

Indirection is most clearly realised in the practice of comic speaking (dhagĕlan) for which Yogyakarta is famous, being called a 'warehouse of comics' (gudhang dhagĕlan). Dhagĕlan is found in modern drama on television as well as in Wayang Wong and shadow theatre when the attendants (punakawan) come on. Three modes used comically have been identified: to soliloquise (ngunandika); to analyse one's own thoughts (ngudar gagasan), and to analyse one's own feelings (ngudhar rasa) (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982:70). It is difficult to illustrate these in writing, given the role of facial expression, delivery, gesture etc. in the modes. The effect may be for pathos or bathos as much as for a belly-laugh, however. The three modes are aspects of one strategy, rather than distinct. Yogyakarta's best-known comic explained that the first was the most general, and the last the deepest, the most "in".[21] All of them can deal with serious matters which can only be articulated by virtue of indirection and humourous framing (see Chapter VII, Section vii). As for the question of language in relation to public and private (in Javanese terms, lair and batin), irrespective of the formality of the 'higher' codes within Javanese, there is also a sense that Javanese as a whole is intimate when contrasted with Indonesian, "more like when one were thinking aloud for oneself or talking to oneself" (Kartomihardjo 1981:234). Also, as already suggested, while a space may determine whether behaviour accords with public or private codes, the reverse may also obtain: public space may become private if behaviour makes it so. Indirection is a kind of rhetoric in which optionality (the option to use ngoko irrespective of the status of those present) implies humour and the subverting of a seemingly strict hierarchy of expression and behaviour.

This possibility, I would argue, is also imminent in Java (and, one could add, usually hoped for). Humour and laughter may also be understood as attitudes which see the world as contingent, processual, ineluctable with respect to utterances which would take themselves for their present actuality, and fail to recognise the absences, which, it has been argued, concepts such as rukun do take into account.

Before proceeding to another area of sense-making, and in order to quell any impression of a general and somewhat incredible Javanese who might be seen to emerge from this account (for all the attempts to prevent this by using 'discourse'), a brief interlude should serve to specify the whens and whos of occasions and practices which have been drawn upon in this discussion.

(iii) Talking under the Tree

> Throughout all the ages, the conversation of ten men sitting together is what holds the world together (Hulme 1971:230)

It has already been said that competence and control of levels and codes should not be assumed. Indeed, much of the Javanese 'discourse' presented applies to people who are old or middle-aged, and tends not to deal with the role of Indonesian, Jakarta slang, and so forth.[22]

As to the devices yet to be described, their users are chiefly male, though the uttering of proverbs (if less their explication) is also the domain of women. I was fortunate enough to be granted the status of honorary male in order to participate in a conversation which occurred every evening at dusk by the south palace square. This 'Open University', as its participants came to see it, gave itself a name, 'Kandha Waru', which refers to the square in front of the palace of

Bathara Guru, a Siva-like god in the shadow play, and which was also said to mean 'talking under the waru tree'.

This group was informally convened through networks of residence or profession, with a dominance of people connected to the performing arts - music, dance, Kěthoprak theatre - the eldest of whom had been educated in the Taman Siswa system in the 1930s. Several were palace officials, one in the arts section, another held an administrative position in the PDK. The seemingly informal gathering would converse on this and that, from the subject of the last shadow play to where the best fried noodles could be obtained in Yogyakarta, and on occasions outings would be organised to go and eat various kinds of food, to spend a vigil at the tomb of a revered philosopher poet. In spite of the informality, however, it soon became evident that one man was definitely ranked 'lower', and would tend to sit behind the 'L'-shaped formation we adopted on the mats (Illustration 70). In fact my patron who had made my participation (for listening comprehension in Javanese!) possible finally gave me a list, each person allocated a numbered rank. Interestingly, a son of HBVII who rarely attended regular conversations but came to special parties, was number eight out of the twelve or so listed. In spite of this hierarchy, and interpersonal ties between people in the group, the mood was light, though formal language codes were used at times, particularly when controversy arose. In general madya codes were used (I was keeping to krama out of respect).[23] Ideological affiliation was defiantly Javanese on the whole: the fact that the gathering stayed through dusk (candhikala), thus coinciding with the evening prayer meant that they were making a stand; though one member would suffer the cries of "Santri! Santri!" when he took his

leave as the Adzan was called for Maghrib. It was noticeable also that members of the group exchanged services for patronage, and that the youngest member was also its lynch pin, though he deferred duly to his seniors - who possibly tolerated any patronising on his part because it might benefit them, and also because he had the only transport available for expeditions. Various incidents cited in this study occurred in this venue, which provided many of the insights into discourse as it emerges here. Interest in my work gradually developed along the lines of anti-academicism. One female source, my Javanese teacher, was also of rank in the Arts Faculty of the University, and the group provided the opportunity to obtain perspectives on her 'official' knowledge and explanations; and vice versa also. This professional female source should, however, be differentiated from the non-academic ones of fellow dance trainees, female dance teachers, and women of varying kinds of acquaintance. Discourses varied from group to group, as well as from person to person.

What became evident was that the informality was not a sign of openness. On one occasion a palace official from the history section made quite unusually open attempts to ingratiate himself into the circle. He offended by failing to recognise members or their status (one important man jokingly said he was a caretaker at what was in fact his home, and was taken literally), and also by trying to monopolise conversation. It is not done to take over a group in Yogyakarta, as in other places. He finally lost any capacity to earn a place by claiming he had made a saron (small metallophone) which was reversible, using a pelog tuning system on one side, and a slĕndro one on the other. This is impossible due to the arrangement of intervals which differ

very much in the two scales, as do the number of tones. What was surprising (and gratifying to one normally making the mistakes) was that the intruder seemed unaware of the response of the others, or the absurdity of the figure he was cutting. What people had largely dissimulated at the time came out in no small way at a tea-party shortly after. In fact, speculation that their knowledge of his impossible saron would provide the means to keep him at bay was not fulfilled. He succeeded, by sheer unawareness, in gaining a place on the fringe of the group - though had he turned up too often no doubt the reversible saron would have been brought up with the desired effect!

Sitting in on this group then provided insights into behaviour and language, above all, enjoyment of language and story-telling, the palace musician being the best raconteur and also most able to tell shadow play stories, complete with different voices. The group shared a love of language and played with it perhaps like people who actually join the Scrabble society rather than just playing privately. They also acted as a critical body of current productions and so forth, and also provided an ongoing commentary on "things aren't how they used to be", again driving home the important fact that there are invariably at least three 'cultures', if only due to there being at least three generations.

The discourse, then, was male, my (feeble) contributions being those of an honorary male. At sarasehans (see Chapter V, Footnote 5), some of these people attended, but only one woman did (from the University). Women tend in language-use to succumb to parody when gathered together privately or at associations for social work or credit-saving; in public (such as at weddings), once the formal

greetings and small talk (basa basi) have been exchanged, they tend to be silent, public address being mostly in the hands of men.[24]

It is hoped that this clarifies briefly the question of who knows what. These men identified with Javanese 'traditions', and younger ones claimed that, once they had retired from their professions, they could think of nothing better than to become a palace official. One man was a professional literary man (editor of a Javanese-language journal), but apart from him the interest was of an 'all-round' rather than specialist type. The identification of this with age should be remembered. Other factors will emerge in Chapter VIII, which considers groups' formations and identifications. The signs of formal structure in the group do not mean that the group is formal. Rather, members of this group, and others in Yogyakarta where discussion occurs and culture is created and transformed, are anonymous, amateur, and not professional men of knowledge. No one in Kandha Waru had had more than secondary education, except one who had trained at ASTI to the equivalent of BA level. What the group knew, therefore, may be considered shadow to the 'official' knowledge found in government-controlled tertiary degree courses installed in campuses. The group, however, did partake in systematising, which may be identified with palace culture, in the style of the 'philosophy of language' (see above); though such systematising is also a feature of Taman Siswa pedagogy. The diminishing capacity of the palace to patronise various activities has already been noted, although in this connection it might be added that the exclusivist idea of value in action which made adiluhung (quality ascribed to activities or things seen as repositories of value as passed down) meaningful, has been adopted by the PDK which is

taking over its clients, and incorporating the palace itself as a client. Thus, PDK publications in the fields of literature and philosophy are 'Not for sale', not 'commodities' to be traded, but objects made valuable by scarcity, and exchanged within certain spheres: for example, the Kasultanan libraries receive these publications.[25]

In the discussion which follows, then, the extent to which references and associations are known and shared, and the subsequent conative capacities of the sign, will vary - for example as in the case of 'mirror', below, depending on what a person has read, heard, and remembered. In many cases not to know but to be aware of can be as power-inducing for an image.

Collusion of course, as will be shown in Chapter VIII, is of prime importance; this is what 'identifications' point to, rather than to any nominal essential knowledge (Diffey, cited in Chapter V).

It should be noted in this connection also, though education will be considered in more detail in Chapters VII and VIII, that while the palace was a universe, it also served as a university - as today indeed, its members sit talking under the tree. However, before independence, and before Javanese were given any chance at all to enter the Dutch system, the palace officials would teach people in their communities reading, writing, arithmetic, music, vocal and dance arts not restricted to the palace, both within the fort area and outside in the various enclaves.[26] Again this demonstrates the palace as being not a closed universe, but a sphere of process. Such a sphere would contain the love of traditions and the fear of forgetting the lessons of the past.

If some of the examples which follow may seem obscure, it is not to argue for an elitism in Yogyakarta (or Java-Indonesia). Rather,

it is to suggest that the spirit of the obscurity is not "rationally incomprehensible or unimportant" (Moertono 1968:20). These devices, dense as their references may be, should instead be understood as an aspect of the transmission of Javanese wisdom through things which can be remembered: formulae, not expanded explanations, what Hulme has called "intensive manifolds" (1971:181) - these criteria give what could be seen as involuted elitism a somewhat more homely and practical character. And as anyone familiar with the region will know, there is nothing elitist about the love of the shadow play or macapat singing.[27] Indeed, these have been characterised by people in Yogyakarta as being of the villages, of the non-privileged; the truly elitist forms, ironically, cultivated by the white-collar bureaucrats under the Dutch, were Western ballroom-dancing and Dutch literature! Today it is similar, with further additions - films, etc. Between these lie the palace officials, promoters of the dance and the gamĕlan.

To return to the citation which opened this section, while the kings in their palaces were supposed to keep the world together, it must have been then, as today, the little groups of men, talking under the tree, endlessly, endlessly, that kept the images of keeping the world in place going.

(iv) Explaining Things, Placing Names

Optionality is a key feature in Javanese explicatory behaviour: we shall see below that associations are created both by sense and by sound, combining further with linguistic options (and the ideological wakes they bring with them), generating a complex inter-referentiality. Whether this is about avoiding fixity and rigidity, or trying to get

closer to what is understood as the heart of things, is not the case in point here. We should remember the co-ordinates mentioned in Chapter V: Hindu-Buddhism (Mahayanist Tantra); Tasawuf (Sufism); Islam (mostly Shari'a), Dutch, and most recently, 'Western'. These provide ballast for interconnections which may refer to forms: "And as Kresna said..." (of the shadow play): "The rice is the gong, the meat dish the bonang..." (a conceit referring to musical instruments). Now that the background to inter-personal exchanges has been filled in, practices which hover between speech and writing, for which works may exist as references where, to come back to Goodman's idea, other references are inscribed and repeated again in varying degrees of remove from the written text, which should not, however, be thought of as origin or original.[28] Discourse is both a system of removes from that hypothesised foundation, and also the potential which in turn may be used to reconstitute that foundation, entailed as it is as a precondition for cara jawa.

It is beyond the scope of this study and irrelevant to its purposes to offer a comprehensive analysis of explanation. However, bearing in mind problems which came up in Chapter III concerning dance terminology and sung accompaniments and how these are treated as references and identifications in discourse outside the realm of dance practice, a brief analysis is pertinent.

Naming has already been raised briefly in connection with personal names, and it was observed that this suggested a duality, of randomness, and determinism, a name being causally related to its subject, but also detachable, replaceable by another should the first be understood as not suiting its owner.

Also to be noted here is the value placed on variation: this has already been discussed in the case of movement quality in dance sequences. Similar concerns are involved when a woman seeks a different coloured scarf to wear over her shoulder in formal dressing to contrast with her jacket (kĕbaya), when the voices in the various puppet plays are set against one another, in the various timbres of gamĕlan music, simultaneous but different. Contrast may be understood as a formal basis for variation, minimally speaking. What the contrast may be filled with is variable. It also depends, as suggested for five-fold classifications, on the system being referred to. Contrast at one level need not, however, imply contrast at the level of identifications: in the palace colour code (referring to colours of puppets' faces), white (is) purity, black (is) obedience.

Now let us see how these elements relate to explication.

In verbal usages of a self-conscious kind (formulae, play), variation in sense-generation is classed under the head of surasa (suraos k) - 'su' more than, very, good' standing in a relation of remove to rasa (a hyper-, or meta-relation, perhaps?). It is glossed by informants as 'content', 'meaning', something which has status as being written down (kasĕrat), and includes the idea of exegesis and interpretation.[29] It is about the breaking down of names and references, fracturing their autonomy into other spheres of reference, both through application and misapplication. As we shall see, this has implications for the idea of generality, boundary-breaching, and imagined truth (see samun in Appendix 3). Surasa is thus more than 'content': it establishes meaning holistically (by inference and association, if not propositionally), not in depth, but through lateral

allusions, cross references (and crossed ones), and other strategies to be discussed below, resulting in a rich inter-referentiality.

Surasa is in fact an etymological style. But already suggested, what a 'real' etymology might be is open to question (Gellner 1973: 88-107; Hobart forthcoming). Can a stating of antecedents be understood to have explained something? A 'real' etymology or a 'false' or 'forced' etymology may be understood as possibilities among a field of interpretations, and also a matter of stylistics. Hence the point that sense comes laterally, not from the deep, the deep being the depths of time and oblivion. As naming is important in Java, so is explication. Giving a name entails giving an explication, in keeping with the pedagogic spirit of 'cultural' inscriptions. It is always possible, in quasi etymologies, as with 'real' ones, that the tracks of use could have been otherwise. We shall later see that the etymologising structure is a miniature version of strategies taken towards the interpretation of the past as lost event; our concern here is with an as-if lost sense. One should note that it is this interpretational, negotiatory process of sense generating which is an important aspect of cara jawa, and thus, of culture(s).

To explain surasa, I shall give an example: if surasa is said to stand in a relation to rasa (sense, feeling), it may be understood as the effect/cause of a person's rasa making sense with the text (or reference). Rasa is not simply a receptive facility, as shall be argued later. To make a statement of this relation, another pair may be introduced standing in an analogous relation to the first: nyata (actuality) and sunyata (ultimate actuality, hyper-actuality), and the association can then be formulated:

rasa : surasa : : nyata : sunyata (: : lair:batin?).
Sanskritists' hackles will have already risen, for the relation through 'su' is inaccurate, sunyata not being cognate with nyata, deriving as it does from the Skt root śunya-. This is typical of etymological strategies which exist in Java, called kĕrata basa and jarwa dhosok. Jarwa dhosok is associated with the explanation of words from the Old Javanese, very often compound words from the Sanskrit; the term jarwa refers to regular explications; jarwi is forcing explications. The explication of the full name of Yogyakarta, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat may be understood as jarwa dhosok, merging to jarwa.[30]

Kĕrata basa is explication which plays on assonance, a practice which also determines the sense 'forced' from the words being jarwa-ed. Thus krikil (small stone, pebble) is unpacked as coming from 'kĕri ing suku' ('itchy on the foot'). Notice that the explanation only implies the ngoko 'sikil', which suggests 'hoof', not 'foot'. Parts of words are thus treated as under-determined, and related to others by means of assonance and semantic value, synonymically or homonymically.[31] Although this "Hesitation between sound and sense" (Valéry, in Jakobson 1978:387) has been taken as a quality of poetic language, we should remember that the distinction between this and 'normal' language is being questioned. In Java, such 'explanations' are treated as a serious game, but with possibilities and realities which are not inferior to any other kind of validation. One might also note here an everyday morphological feature of Javanese and Indonesian, in which a compound word is shortened from the original syllables: like jarwa dhosok in reverse! Tukang-bokong (a man whose rear is close to his heels: short-legged) thus becomes kak-kong, a form known as tĕmbung camboran

tugĕlän.[32] In the case of both jarwa dhosok and kĕrata basa, then, 'meaning' is generated by playing with extensions of a term (semantic or assonance), and this also allows knowledge to be concealed in figurative language (hiasan 'adornment', from Arabic kiyas, analogy). This has given rise to the idea as a literature which exemplified this kind of possession and displacement of sense, called 'cryptic literature'.[33]

Before developing this discussion, it would be useful to look at Javanese semantic terminology, in this case from a printed source, before making possible errors about whether something should be termed 'metaphor', 'analogy', etc., as presented in Table 6 (following page).

I have glossed tĕgĕs ĕnthar as 'figurative' language (as does Anderson, translating Sastrapustaka 1984), although this might seem ironical in view of the Javanese sense of 'invisible', 'run away' - respective usages here indicating different tendencies in styles of abstraction and imagining. One might note that in both Javanese and Indonesian, the words for 'like' or 'as' tend to be dropped, making the fine line between metaphor and simile vanish (for example, in the brick image in Chapter V, Section vi). In Indonesian the word 'metaphor' is used, also majas (from Ar. majaz), although in Javanese this is glossed as '1. there is not any certainty (tĕmĕnan); 2. fitting or appropriate (pantas)' (Purwadarminta 1939). Soebardi has a rather confused use of metaphor, with which he translates the term upama or upami (analogy, simile) (1975:174), and also the words ondhe-ondhe or andhe-andhe, which Purwadarminta again glosses as pĕpindhan, upama (analogy, simile). It is clear that the relation of such terms to Western systems of tropes may not be exact.

TABLE 6 : Javanese Terms for Figures of Speech[1]

	Term	Example
1.	Different meanings (tĕgĕs beda-beda)	The use of 'rubber': 'natural rubber', 'rubber time'
2.	Slippery meanings (tĕgĕs plĕsĕdan)	
	a. joking (sipat dhagĕl)	"Mas Paidin is king...in a Kĕthoprak play!"
	b. punning (sifat blenderan)	"Pawira's been raised (munggah) to the rank of lord (Mas)." "So, now his rank is as high as his opinion of himself?" (diunggahake nduwur sirahe: raised as high as his head)
3.	Analogy or simile (tĕgĕs upama[2] utawi pĕpindhahan)	'As high as the sky' = distant (prasasat jara langit = tangeh)
4.	Exegesis (tĕgĕs surasa)	
	a. sarcasm (ngĕnyek: 'to tread on, pinch)	"Gosh, aren't you clever!": teasing a brainbox. (wah - pintĕre!: ngĕnyek wong kumintĕr)
	b. allusion (nyĕmoni)[3]	"Kacek, the one who's still getting wahyu"[4] (Kacek, sing lagi kĕtiban wahyu): allusion to one who has been promoted (nyĕmoni wong kang munggah pankate)
	c. signal (sasmita)[5]	"Kadyaning ningali madhu, samya kĕntaring asmara."[6] "Like seeing honey, together washed away in passion": a cue (sasmita) to musicians to play the tune Madhukĕntar.
	d. 'Because of fear'? (marga wĕdi)	"Look out, your grandma often comes round here": tiger.[7] (Ngati-ati lo, mbahne sok saba mrene : macan)
5.	Hyperbole (tĕgĕs mbangĕtake; hiperbola B.I.)	
	a. by changing vowel sound (swararasane)	'red' (abang) becomes 'really red' (abing)
	b. by lengthening sound (dawa swarane)	'tall' (dhuwur) becomes 'really tall' (dhuwuuuuur)
	c. in the form of a simile (kang rupa pĕpindhahan)[8]	"his voice was like the shaking of the earth" (swarane kaya mbĕdha-mbĕdhanan bumi)
6.	Euphemism (tĕgĕs ngalusake)	'to depart this world' (tilar donya) = die, be dead 'to be sick in memory' (gĕrah engĕtan) = to be crazy

TABLE 6 (continued)

	Term	Example
7.	Figurative meaning (tĕgĕs ĕnthar: 'invisible')	kĕmbang lambe ('flower of the lips'): either 'without speaking' or 'sweet/clever talk', pati gĕni ('to kill the fire'): a kind of fast,[9] udan tangis ('rain of tears'): 'all crying together'
8.	Mistaken usage (tĕgĕs salah kĕprak)	'nggodhog wedang' (to boil hot water) 'menek krambil' (to pick a coconut tree)
9.	Wangsalan (see below)	jĕnang gula ('sugar jelly') = aja lali ('don't forget')
	Bĕbasan	ladak kuwarisan ('inherited arrogance') = arrogance is simply fortunate'[10]
	Saloka[11]	ĕndhas gundul dikĕpeti ('the bald head is fanned') = people can always get more pleasure
	Sanĕpan (paradox)	pait madhu: 'as bitter as honey'
10.	Metonymy (tĕgĕs mĕlar/mingkub; metonimia B.I.)	'The inhabitants of Yogyakarta already number 800,000': 800,000 people
11.	Personification (tĕgĕs pindha purusa)	'godhong-godhong prasasat ngawe awe, gawe krĕnyting ati kang lagya nandhang' (the leaves look as if they are waving, making the quiet heart sad)

NOTES TO TABLE 6

1. This table is adapted from Sastrasoepadma's list of usages classed as Artisastra, semantik: semantic meanings (1958:33-5), in contrast to usages which are tĕgĕs harfiyah (literal meanings). In most cases I have translated his examples and glosses, with the exception of 4c, and 9 where he (wisely) does not give glosses.

2. Upama is from Skt 'equal, similar, comparable' (Zurburchen 1976).

3. Or pasĕmon, sometimes glossed as 'parable' (Giri Sonto, n.d.) In dance it is used with regard to facial control, and derives from sĕmu 'appearance'.

4. Wahyu is a sign of divine favour but in Yogyakarta is recognised as a sign which alludes to worldly success - hence the difficulty of translation, as it is being used here to illustrate its own dissimulations! A literary example and its etymology may be found in Soebardi 1975:126, 189.

5. This refers to cues signalling to musicians which piece they have to play next (Soedarsono 1984:145-69; Probohardjono 1984:500-2). Remembering what was said of classifications of dance terminologies, it should be noticed that sasmita is one use of a wangsalan. In Bali the word for a musical cue is ciri (Hobart, personal communication).

6. This sasmita is from the kandha for Bĕdhaya Sĕmang in Sĕrat pĕsindhen candhran abdidalĕm AD 1836, ms.B23 in the Widyabudaya Library. Another sasmita for the same gĕndhing is "Ciptaning manah kadhya aningali madhu kĕntir samya ing asmara" (from Sĕrat kandha Bĕdhaya Srimpi AD 1854, ms.B24).

7. There is a common association between tigers and ancestors in Java and Sumatra; to speak of 'tigers' is disrespectful to the ancestors.

8. See also No.3; this is used synonymously sometimes with saloka and paribasa.

9. Fasting where no food, drink or sunlight is received for a day and a night, three days and a night, or seven days and a night (times varied).

10. The gloss is according to Adi 1956, but I remain confused: a friend kindly explained in Javanese: "tĕgĕsipun wonten bakatipun bĕgja sangĕt = ladak bĕgja wae. Wontĕn waris = ada bakatnya, ora waris = mbotĕn bĕgja/bakat".

11. Not to be confused with Skt śloka. Saloka and paribasa (Skt paribhāṣaṇa: the 'accusation' section in a play [Vatsyayan 1980], bhāṣaṇa: 'clever speech' [Ghosh 1951:395-6]) are both used for 'proverb, saying' (paribasa), though saloka is reckoned to be a three-word form (anon. 1913), though another source remains unclear on this (Adi 1956). The categories comprising No.9 were all offered under one head, and it is unclear whether or not the examples were supposed to correspond to each category (as shown here) or to be interchangeable.

Although this is a formalised list, and has possibly been based around Western categories, it may be noticed that none the less, Javanese classificatory characteristics as noticed in dance classifications prevail. For instance, a sasmita is one use for a wangsalan.[34] Classes are not necessarily discrete or segmentary, but may overlap. For example, surasa is classed as a specific kind of semantic practice, whereas elsewhere it is more general than this. The most fiendish device listed, the wangsalan, deserves more attention here, not only because it is sometimes misunderstood, but also because it is an important element in the lyrics sung with Bĕdhaya dances, and as such, should be taken as the most disguised of the disguised senses.[35]

Of all the devices to promote sense, wangsalan adduces the most economy in terms of relation of signifier to signified. The following example, featuring in a text on wangsalan (Sasrasumarta 1958), may allow the principles to be explained. The example is jĕnang gula (sugar jelly) which 'means' "don't forget". The process is first from an association of sense with regard to similarity: jĕnang gula is a sweetmeat; another kind of sweetmeat is glali. The second step is by assonance: glali sounds like aja lali, "don't forget". There are many wangsalan like this which unpack to yield the names of fish, fruit, or flowers.[36]

During fieldwork, an informant explicated what he referred to as kĕrata basa (explication), but which he applied to a form of wangsalan known as 'double wangsalan', the clue having two parts. The example was jĕnang sela : wadĕr kalen sĕsonderan. The first part is similar to the example above. Jĕnang sela refers to a sweetmeat, but means literally 'rock jelly' which also has the sense of 'ash', for which the normal word is apu. The second part of the example refers to a

kind of fish, for which another name is sĕpat (as far as I could follow the explication).

We now have two terms: apu (ash) and sĕpat (a kind of fish), which have been arrived at by a connection of sense. These two terms are now converted by their assonances. Apu gives apuranta ('forgive me'); sĕpat gives lĕpat (mistake). The relation between these two terms to a Javanese brought up according to cara jawa will be immediately apparent: "apuranta yen wontĕn lĕpat kula": "forgive me if I have made any mistakes".

This kind of wangsalan may serve as a riddle, and is not dissimilar to the singing games found in Indonesia and the Malay peninsula called pantun.[37] It is clear that what is going on in wangsalan is similar to Cockney rhyming slang: "apples and pears" 'means' "stairs"; "bangers and mash" 'means' "cash", according to the principle of assonance and rhyme. The phrase which works by association, and, in the case of elaborate wangsalan such as the double one, the arrival at a complete phrase rests on conditions which obtain by having become standardised and conventional, in the same vacillation between formula and improvisation that occurs in solving Guardian crossword puzzles. While musicians may memorise wangsalan which serve as sasmita, there may be cases where there is more improvisatory game-playing involved.

However, once a wangsalan is forgotten, it is often difficult to establish what it signified, and this has implications for the translation and understanding of texts, and in this instance, song lyrics, Bĕdhaya lyrics, as noted, being especially dense in wangsalan. Working on Bĕdhaya Sĕmang texts in the Widyabudaya Library in the palace often resulted in the scribes and poets present refusing even to speculate on

what the meaning might be. One was happy enough to identify something as a wangsalan, for example, in the case of the elliptical line in the pĕsindhen Sĕmang (Sĕmang lyrics) "The bird of ill-omen flies north of the wood".[38] In the case of Sĕmang lyrics, associations of danger persist, and little success was met in attempting to establish what the lyrics were about. Modernists tend to dislike wangsalan (being a code with certain ideological implications), and wish to recodify them in lists with their meanings given. The same is true of other kinds of language usage (paribasa, 'sayings') (see Table 6), which are revised in much the same way that Chaucer, Shakespeare and the classics are revised for use in schools in Britain. Ambiguity of sense, particularly if the connotations might be erotic (or ambiguous, because it might have connotations of the erotic),[39] tends to be mistrusted. The nature of this kind of exclusion in palace forms has already been spoken of with regard to dance forms. Here another kind of exclusion may be identified: not excision, but veiling. The ability to remove the veil is the privilege of those who are old enough to have had long enough to grow familiar with the references which become identifications. Complex references which are entailed in such sense-making are, however, not part of formal national education, and as such are being lost to the younger generation of Indonesian Javanese.

One could argue that it is not so much printing which is challenging this kind of knowledge, which would be transmitted allusively from older to younger generations, but the formalisation of conversation and culture, taking it from the tree and the knee, and putting it onto the school bench.

The notion of optional implication by association has been noted already in the case of the various references which kawula gusti may be said to entail: that of service and obedience on a worldly and on a spiritual level. This does, however, raise questions about separability and detachability, particularly in more densely attributed discourses, usually philosophical ones. The problem may be understood as a conscious exploration of the relation of attributes to thing: a common image to express this is that of honey: "Like honey and its sweetness, you will certainly not find [it] if you separate [them]".[40] Another image related to this by literary specialists in Yogyakarta was the more common saying, "When you bite a sirih leaf you can't separate the taste of the top from the bottom".[41] Things which break boundaries and categories have accordingly come to be frequently used images in such discourses. The quality was described in a name which recurs in the region: of the first temporary palace of the founder of Yogyakarta, (Ng)ambarkĕtawang (kĕtawang is O.J. 'sky'); and of the palace where HBVIII retired on his abdication in AD 1921, Ambarrukma (rukma is Skt-O.J. 'gold'). (ng)ambar was explained as being "like scent, something coming from a flower, but also like petrol", meaning, it has fumes. It was explained as being the quality of a king's power (sĕkti), and of honey (madhu) also. Something which shares the quality of ngambar thus sums up the problem which is one of how to know things, and also establishes a formal foundation for the proliferation and extension of identifications and cross-referencing. Value is in excess of the container which breaks its own boundaries, and suggests that sense is beyond signs. In some systems sense may also be beyond knowledge.[42]

It is now possible to explain more fully what happens in references occurring in the names of dance movements and song lyrics. Using imagery which has gained weight and substance through repetition both written (notably in the works of the Surakartan court poets, the Yasadipuras and Ranggawarsita), or transmitted orally in macapat singing (see above: most 'traditional' Javanese poetry is sung) creates the effect of ngambar, as the images generate sense and suggestion beyond themselves, becoming difficult to stabilise and contain in a single translation. The extent to which the images do entail the potential identifications is, of course, dependent on the capacity of the user to recognise the references. On the whole, though, Javanese, like Shakespearean audiences, are keen to associations both of sense and sound.

Examples of such images which occur in song include 'sea', 'storm', 'rain', 'musk', 'areca palm', 'mirror', 'jewel', 'ray'. In dance movement names one finds recurrences: 'waves of the sea', 'areca palm in the wind', 'looking in a mirror'. These natural images have come to attract a host of abstract connotations in systems one may find in well-known texts such as Yasadipura's Sĕrat Cabolek or Mangkunĕgara IV's Sĕrat Wĕdhatama. Not all references need be so literary: the case of 'elephant rolling trunk' and the king's elephant may be rembered here.

Thus, 'musk' (kĕsturi), epitomising as it does the literal capacity of ngambar as 'having a strong scent', becomes an image of power through achievement or completion.[43] 'Ray' and 'jewel' do likewise, but through appeal to the visual sense. The image of 'mirror' is particularly strong. There is a saying in popular parlance,"Ngilo githoke dhewe"('mirror the nape of your neck yourself'), an injunction

to 'know yourself' (Suryadi 1981:209). In the eighteenth-century Sĕrat Cabolek, the mirror becomes an image to hold together a set of saturated metaphysical ideas which are related to the famous heresy of Seh Siti Jĕnar, hero of the Javanese spirit par excellence.[44] The mirror image is also related to the ideas expressed in kawula-gusti in terms of unity (or non-dualism). The nineteenth-century Sĕrat Wirid, which draws heavily on Sufi cosmogony, also employs the image of the mirror of shame (miratu'lkijai).[45]

What the accumulation of such identifications means is that a form or work may be given the status of adiluhung. The extent to which such forms or works should also be interpreted as being yoga, bhakti, spiritual practice, or, in the case of dance, related to the dances of devadasi or the whirling dervishes' Sama dance,[46] is much more controversial (see also Chapter VII).

Other examples should be noted here, to illustrate that this is a habit of discourse, rather than one indicating diffusion of ideas or essential influences, that is to say, any single or orthodox code (should such a thing exist!). The first is the homonymic reiteration of names across spheres without necessarily indicating essential linkages, which are fixed independently of the uses to which they may be put, or which constitute them. Interpretative strategies of an idiosyncratic kind may establish connections. For example, Kinanthi is both the name of a macapat metre and one of the woods (wanda) of the shadow puppet for Arjuna. One could speculate whether there is a derivation in the name of the dance mode, Kalang kinanthang, or what grounds for connections would be used; or perhaps this mode is named with the name of the mask character Kalang in mind? (Pigeaud 1938:

Pl.XLVIII, 114). Atur-atur is the name of a dance movement, said by some to 'mean' 'making an offering' (see Illustration 6); it is also the name of a melody played on the Sĕkati gamĕlans at Mauludan. Sapit Urang (crayfish claw) is another recurrent name: for example for parts of costumes (Soedarsana 1984), for military formations which are used in Wayang Orang (Wibowo 1984), and also of the old courtyard in the Sultan Agung complex at the Imagiri burial ground outside Yogyakarta. Etymological ploys to give 'meaning' to dance names have already been considered (see Footnote 35); however, in the spirit of forced etymology or forced causal linkages, might there not perhaps be a 'link' between Sĕmang (the name of the Bĕdhaya, which some say means 'misfortune'), and the name of Seh Siti Jĕnar's pupil, Ki Lontang Sĕmang (cited in Siddique 1977:208)?

Homonyms and assonance may yield expositions and explications already mentioned: from explaining the name of the palace jacket for men, sorjan, as coming from the word for lotus, saroja, to the kind of moralising of the palace meaning the use of tree names in the palace yields their own memory theatre:

> The road straight to the north is adorned to left and right with asĕm (tamarind) and tanjung[47] trees, which represent the life of the child, straight, free from feelings of sadness and disgruntlement, in the form of nĕngsĕmakĕn (to enjoy: from asĕm) and disanjung-sanjung (cherished: from tanjung)...in the south square asĕm trees are supplemented with young trees whose green leaves are referred to as nata sinom (arranging the fine hairs along the forehead). Around the edge of this square are kweni and pakĕl (mango trees): these mean that the child will be wani (brave, from kweni), because it is already akil baligh (mature, grown up: from pakĕl by sound association).

Inside the main kraton area, the trees are different: pĕlĕm (mango) are a sign of wishes in common (padha gĕlĕm); jambu dĕrsono (rose apple)

of mutual care (kadĕrsan sih ing sĕsama), and kĕpĕl, of "unity of wishes, unity of clarity, unity of sense, unity of concept (cita cita)" (through the word kĕmpĕl) (Brongtodiningrat 1978:13-14).

The fact of a multiplicity of synonyms, dasanama (literally 'ten names') assists such strategies, although ostensibly in the name of unity, one might note that diversity is very much a key feature. However, it is possible, given the tendency remarked on among the Javanese to create "neutralisation by incorporation" (Hatley, citing Barthes, 1979:16), that here it is more a question of unification through subsumption. Gonda has remarked of the kinds of language strategies discussed here that,

> Javanese and other Indonesian peoples are fond of playing with their words, for instance by replacing part of a word or phrase with a synonym. Sometimes they give in to this habit because for some reason or another, definite words had to be disguised or avoided altogether (rank restrictions, taboos), in other cases, however, poets availed themselves of this device in order to create new variants (and fitting scansion). No rigid line of demarcation can be drawn between the exigencies of magical danger, social tradition, poetical device, and the tendency which may be called mere playfulness or fun (1952:208).

Elsewhere, Gonda takes an unenthusiastic position regarding the effect of taboo on usage in generating synonyms and other substitutions to serve as references (1948).

Zurburchen takes a different view, claiming that in Java naming is important in olden days "because ideas that come from a variety of cultural traditions are constantly being given new contexts, Naming (angaran O.J.) is done with abstractions as well as concrete entities" (1976:20).

One might notice that the element of whim which comes into this kind of etymologising is not restricted to terms alone: some informants

displayed a remarkable capacity to establish their own personal ideas of mythological references: such as the man who denied that the character Sĕmar hatched from an egg, and then explained that "some say he did, but I don't like that". Of this character it has also been said that his shape is round because his knowledge is complete (bulat = round, whole, complete). Other informants said that they had cited and used ideas from sources not because they felt that the ideas were necessarily right, but because they had been used already (Gusti Suryobrongto on the Indian reference used by van Lelyveld 1931 of Javanese dance cited in 1970, not because Javanese dance necessarily used such categories or was "like Indian dance - but because Lelyveld had mentioned them").

Uses of explanations structured around numbers, already touched on, is also part of this kind of perspective. The Javanese practice of candrasangkala, the inscribing of a date in emblematic form giving a visual or verbal phrase instead of a number, such as 'two snakes feel as one', is an obvious case.[48] The number systems five-four and nine-eight have also been discussed in Chapter V, with reference to how classifications accrue to such a nexus - rather as significations accrue to certain 'fragrant' images in literary and verbal plays. However, the numbers themselves are not as important as how they can be used: a Bĕdhaya may have nine dancers, or seven (Raffles 1978:342 says there are eight); both nine and Bĕdhaya are mutually 'weighted' by implying each other in the reference, but a Bĕdhaya is not necessarily a dance for nine. Attempts have been made to find a rationale in numerical classes in Java (see Pott 1966), but this structural thesis seems to set too much store by an essentialisation of numerical capacity.

Granted, the Javanese do go in for putting things in groups. An informant started to eludicate such a serial structure: "There are nine qualities (sifat), eight paths of right conduct (for kings: hasta); there are seven...I can't remember the others..." Puppeteers tend to come up with the full series: "Ten pĕngarasan (meaning unclear: thrones, seats?), nine watak (character traits), eight rules of priestly conduct, seven gods, six types of water, five kinds of wind (or energy: bayu), four kinds of windu (eight-year cycles), three kinds of light , two elements in any set of opposites, and one question" (Keeler 1982: 418, citing Ki Anom Suroto).[49]

One might notice that there are seven gods; another series gives nine; nine is particularly vexatious, being attributed with special 'Islamic' qualities, while eight is viewed more as a Hindu-Buddha number, but neither attribution requires the exclusive characterisation of a number in that identificatory set. What is important is that numbers are viewed as a way of classing things in a provisional system which yields up explication and which is structured so that it is easy to remember (nursery rhyme counting-songs in Britain come to mind here).

Also, given the favour of a 'more than'quality (as in ngambar), there is a tendency to add one to a system. Five is, as noted, explained as four plus the capacity to perceive its unity as a group: without the extra different element, the others lack coherence. This plus-one trait is noticeable in various systems: for example, in a model of creation (to be taken up again Chapter VII), three active elements (sari) are listed as being necessary preconditions for creation: water (tirta kamandanu); fire (bagaskara); wind (maruta); then a fourth is added, 'atmosphere' (swasana) which both completes the

grouping of the other three, and initiates the commencement of bodily form (wadag, wadah: body, vessel) (Brongtodiningrat 1975:12-13; and see Appendix 3). The final element is thus in two systems, a connection or pivot between them, an articulating principle, just as the fifth element in the five-four system allows the first four to be 'articulated' (or known). This principle can sometimes emerge in odd ways. In Yogyakarta it was suggested that there used to be eight bĕdhaya dancers, and then nine because Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul joined them: in this sense, Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul is a name for the extra one needed to make sense of the others. In one case the king is added to the dancers, making ten (Hadiwidjojo 1982). There is even a case for seeing the controversial Seh Siti Jĕnar, favoured albeit heretical mystic, as being the one added to the eight wali, making nine.[50]

What these examples should reinforce is the systematicity and transformability of numbers in the name of sense structures, rather than the hypostatisation of what the attribute of a number is as such; and, as such, the notion of process, not finitude.[51]

Another case of explanation which uses shared conditions, such as having X elements above, are things which participate in similar metaphorical frames (though metaphor is perhaps less accurate here than figures), such as those which refer to the body. The case of the Bĕdhaya has already been discussed. The idea of body deriving from 'head' (=leader) is also found in other cases: the mancapat village structures of four villages with one central one is described by van Ossenbruggen (1977) as the head with four 'arms', the bĕkĕl at the centre as head, the manca kaki as his four legs. The terms of address in formal O.J. also depend on such imagery: "A servant who

addresses the ruler calls himself 'head' (hulun, the noblest body part) offered to the sandal (paduka, the lowest thing on the body) of the king. Geographically the mountains (home of the gods) are the head, while the sea (home of wild forces) is the body" (Zurburchen 1976: 9). (I never heard this last in Yogyakarta.) One might notice that a potential for house-body associations has not been evident; however, the krama andhap 'dalĕm' ('I') is the same word as the krama inggil for 'house'. There are numerous other examples possible here, and the implications will be considered in Chapter VII.[52]

To sum up, the general sense-making strategies may be linked to notions of boundary-breaking or, perhaps, overlapping of classes, already noted in several capacities, and of which indirection in speech levels is another example. Configurations of sense are part of a didactic or pedagogic principle, whereby repetitions, formulations, and transformations, on grounds which may be 'logical', by association of sound or of sense, form a kind of memory theatre, which provides forms for knowledge. In these terms, dance becomes a nexus of this type, although as will be seen in the remaining two chapters, the direction of references and literal grounds is liable to shift. It has also been noticed that overspill of sense is favoured, connotation being a sign of power, something which needs developing later; at the same time, the fact of game-playing tends, as with indirection in speech levels, to cast an ironical shadow on any strategy or practice which is centred as uniform. The relation of humour to sense cannot be overlooked here. For example, punning in shadow play can subvert the whole play, and serves to effect its decentring as something which might otherwise 'reflect' a particular hierarchy or power structure. Etymological

disrespect affords all kinds of subversion as well as possibilities: the connection of the 'forced' etymologies as legitimising the potential of the real, through revealing conditions which obtain in the world at the level of language will lead to a consideration also of 'knowledge' (and the self), the proper processor of the discussion of power (see Foucault 1972:160-2 in particular; also 1973:preface, vi-vii). Hypostatisation is not identified, therefore, with legitimacy and power. Rather, the elusive and inéluctable are valued, because of their evasiveness and also their obscurity. It might be relevant at this juncture to consider Goodman's distinction between science and non-science as being the way in which symbols and signs behave. In science, symbols have a solid base constituted by theoretical formulations of proof and evidence. Javanese science of reality (ngelmu) operates on the different principle of weight being at the level of suggestion and conversion. It is a theory of energy, the capacity to elicit persuasion (again, to be developed in Chapter VIII).

When enquiring about identifications and references, it was the word ciri which came up as being the basis for resemblance, linkages, loyalties, and associations. For the moment, ciri may be taken as 'features'. When people in Yogyakarta spoke about 'simbol' (B.I. 'symbol': see cases in Chapter V), they were talking about the transferring of ciri from one entity to another; this was often done in the name of spiritual or moral edification, the more ciri a reference may carry, the better; it is a pointed, directed strategy. It is also occasional, opportunistic by being determined more by fittingness and the person addressed (thus the relevance of Jakobson's remarks noted above) than by anything intrinsic or inherently 'real' in

the relation, as in the case of explaining Sĕmar's origins, above. Ciri carry by sound or sense, and gain weight by repetition (analogous to 'dead metaphors'). Explanations have a randomness which resembles bricolage - except that some items become more susceptible to bricolage than others, by conventional repetition - and a deliberation which is closer to engineering (Lévi-Strauss 1976). A local idiom for these two dimensions may turn out to be lair-batin, as we shall see in Chapter VII. The engineering part of the strategy will be informed by presuppositions, cara jawa, the feel for the sense and how it is made, and how it is received (rasa). Management of sense-making again is explained with reference not to rules but to how they work (and how they work is to give pleasure [kĕluwĕsan]) to the sense of the receiver, categories here becoming formed in terms of appropriateness, that is, by use and habit. Once again, to define value (here caught up in repetition, allusion and transformation), involves vicious circles of collusion and recognition.

Symbols tend ultimately to one thing: God, Allah, Yang Maha Esa - the relation of attributes (sipat) to thing becoming a question of metaphysics rather than epistemology. And while a Western theoretician will be concerned to classify the kind of sense made - is it metaphor, symbol, etc? - what processes exist which allow such different meanings to arise? (Ricoeur 1977:Studies 3 and 4) in Java it is the strategy which is named, rather than the sense status, which opens out onto the unnameable. The relevance of Derrida's différance should once more be noted.[53] Thus, an anthropologist may be interested to know what, for example, a kĕris or arrows 'symbolise'. A Javanese may not be concerned by the unqualified generality (which may be self-evident);

he will be interested to talk about particular instances of use, and his particular version of this.[54]

(v) Conclusions

In a didactic strategy, natural objects, numbers, etc., and their relative positions become part of a process of deferral and retrieval. The intrinsic characters of things vanish into their various versions. This is not anything 'mystical', but one view of how sense may be created, though in Java it will be related to the feel (rasa), rather than the 'thought'. Thoughts have harder boundaries or more limited capabilities to emanate than do feelings, and are lower on the scale of importance, having much less potential. This facility for establishing connections and sense thereby might be contrasted with one view (anyway) of a contemporary Europe where "I can connect/Nothing with nothing" (Eliot 1969:70, The Fire Sermon, Part III of The Waste Land). Things are classed, as well as linked, by capacity, not by essence.

Discourse in Java then has been shown in terms of strategies which revolve on the principle of placing, on being as much about behaviour and action as about utterance, and one might say that discourses as such are less concerned with logic than with logistics.[55] A thing is classed for its capacity rather than for anything which rules what it is, at the level of phenomenon or sign. This means that etymology is revealed as just another strategy; the past, if present, is balanced by the present lateral potentialities of the sense a term can have. Past usage can only be called to support present needs (see Chapter VIII). Most sense-making strategies create an equivalence in associations which are made by sound or by sense, so there is a

randomisation; at the same time, the significance or lesson of the link is important: the sense is also determined by the purpose for which the strategy was conducted, as in naming.

If an equation may be made between discourse and culture, as Javanese explanations seem to suggest (in comments about culture and education), then Javanese culture may be understood as memory theatre for who you are and where you are. This will be elaborated in the following chapter, which will also open out the relation between remembering, knowing, being, and (in Chapter VIII), dying. This last chapter will show how relations work to form groups, and what the bases for these are. In both these chapters, dance will be the measure and limiting condition for the references used.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. .."orang jawa kalau memberi nama apa saja tentu mengandung maksud" B.I.

2. Derrida is notoriously difficult to cite or translate, so here follows the passage in French: "Or si la différance est (je mets aussi le 'est' sous rature) ce qui rend possible la présentation de l'étant présent, elle ne se présente jamais comme telle. Elle ne se donne jamais au présent. A personne. Se réservant et ne s'exposant pas, elle excède en ce point précis et de manière réglée l'ordre de la vérité, sans pour autant se dissimuler, comme quelque chose, comme un étant mystérieux, dans l'occulte d'un non-savoir. Par toute exposition elle serait exposée à disparaître comme disparition. Elle risquerait d'apparaître: de disparaître" (1968:44). This paper proposes a radical critique of phenomenology (and other discourses) for the reading of 'traces' which are always unconscious and which may entail "the language of presence or absence" (1968:59). Concepts exist within a system, constituted by a play of differance which leads to the proposition that differance "is no longer simply a concept but the possibility of conceptuality, of the conceptual process and system in general" ("la différance n'est plus alors simplement un concept mais la possibilité de la conceptualité, du procès et du système conceptuel en général") (1968:49). The conceptual chain also involves temporisation: the original constituary of time and space...the transcendental phenomenology of the language which is here criticised and displaced (1968:46). For English texts on the notions of play and decentring with respect to the work of Lévi-Strauss, see Derrida 1972; for a detailed discussion of the problem of presence in Aristotle via Benveniste, see Derrida 1980.

3. For a sympathetic critique of Foucault's sense of discourse, see White 1979:89-97.

4. In 1979, I lived by a canal in a village to the north-west of Yogyakarta. The earth track beside it tended to subside regularly under the weight of my motorcycle. A team of village men would arrive early on a Sunday morning to repair it, in exchange for tea and snacks. There was little chance of reciprocity at the level of labour (being an all-female house), but when a girl from the village required expensive eye treatment, and gotong royong took the form of making contributions, my household was expected to be generous with cash donations.

5. Koentjaraningrat 1961. Cf. nggotong, 'to carry away (something heavy by many people)' (Giri Sonto, n.d., Unit 19, p.78).

6. Sullivan terms factional units within the "neighbourhood unity" (RT) "cells": "Most members of both cells acknoqledge each other's existence with cool formality and polite small talk when the feud is not in one of its hotter phases. Bu Harno and Bu Sastro have exchanged nothing but insults and pointed silences, by all reports,

for the last fourteen years. Whatever the state of play, members of these two cells spend much of their free time slandering families in the other group" (1980:22-3). Similar goings-on occurred in the RT where I lived, particularly between the owners of the house in which I lived and the immediate neighbours to one side. Reluctant discussions about this by other people living in the RT saw the reasons for tension as various: politics, personal grievances and mutual disapproval, and hazy stories about inheritance and family disputes. Reluctant, I suspect, as such things are viewed as normal, not needing particular reasons or causes to explain them.

7. For example, Anderson, who writes: "tolerance [is not necessarily]... an innate characteristic of the Javanese people as such. Rather it is structurally related to both a static and traditional social order and the pervasiveness of wayang (shadow theatre) as a source of religion, morality, and philosophy" (1965:26-7).

8. In discussion, Dr. Mark Hobart came up with the image of rukun as "a concept in search of exemplification". A recent collection of papers about Javanese ideas of Western values also considers rukun (kerukunan B.I.): "Many of the values and duties which are considered instrumental in Western ethics are considered equally so by Javanese ethics, except that their being carried out is relativised according to the principle of kerukunan" (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:92, my translation and emphasis).

9. It was suggested above (Chapter I) that while anthropologists may frame their opinions according to models or theories, such frames will not always be taken into account by readings. Theoretical stands have implications which may turn up as blueprints for social or political projects. The anthropologist has no alibis in this case.

10. The first three functions are also dealt with in Searle's speech act theory (1968), which also considers language less in terms of propositions than according to its capacity to be oriented to the addressee.

11. See Poedjosoedarmo 1968:59-60.

12. Moertono's criticism of Geertz's analysis of Javanese language-use is pertinent here: "The location of his study is hardly proper to study the delicate intricacies of etiquette in Javs" (1968:93). Geertz was working in East Java in the village of Pare.

13. The informant described this philosophy in Indonesian mixed with Javanese: "1. Nyata: betul, kenyataan, tidak boleh bohong. Jangan mengurangi dan membesarkan. 2. Bĕcik: seperti nyata, tapi yang jelek tidak diomongi. 3. Bahasa: 1. dan 2. tapi caranya 'apik'. 4. Unggah-ungguh: tindak-tanduk dengan orang, ĕmpan-papan juga". One might notice that for the first element, the Javanese term for nyata may also be bĕnĕr, kĕbĕnĕran. This last is also synonymous with kapinujon, 'It so happened that...'

14. See Anderson 1982 for a discussion of the effect of the incorporation of Indonesian terms into Javanese. Competence in language levels of Javanese today is blamed on the teaching of Indonesian (and Arabic) in schools.

15. Lively examples may be found in Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982, Conversation 2; and Keeler's study on Javanese language 1984 (mimeographed draft Lesson 14), in which Rasa recounts his visit to the office of the Pak Camat with a friend.

16. For a discussion of the Balinese data, see Hobart 1985b.

17. Wastani derives from O.J. wastu and cognates. Wastu is: (Skt any real (existing) substance, thing, object; the real; the right thing, worthy object; goods, wealth, property; subject matter; theme). 1. object, thing, matter; something, anything, everything. 2. reality, the really existing things; 3. really, in reality etc. (U)mastwi (more or less the same as amastu, winastwan and kawastwane) and amastawani: 1. to know or perceive st. in its concrete form; to form a picture of, define. 2. to determine the occurrence of st., give reality to, bring about, predict (in curse or blessing) (Zoetmulder 1982).

18. G. Poedjosoedarmo (1979) provides detailed grammatical grounds for an exploration along the lines of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (this is my extrapolation, not her suggestion). A discussion about the grammatical status of the subject in relation to the use of the passives in Javanese may be found in the Giri Sonto course (n.d.: Vol.3, Unit 33: 104-5).

19. Javanese words for 'yes' are ya ng., inggeh k. (pronounced 'injeh' in Yogyakarta); for negations, ora ng., mobtĕn k. ('no'), dudu ng., sanes k. ('not': used of things, not actions). Inggeh may be 'I have heard', similar to the French 'oui' which derives from ouïr, Old French, 'to hear'. It was noticed in East Java that servants often responded to their names being called by their employers with saya (B.I.) or dalĕm (k.a.), 'I', instead of 'yes' words.

20. This was noticed on a tape-recorded interview. Informants with one exception refused to be taped. Could there be a connection between this and discursive strategies, and a wish not to be de-specified by being replayed at a later time? Question words are not always specific: paran O.J. 'what, how, who, etc.' has already been noted Chapter V, Footnote 32); in common parlance, "piye (kĕpriye)" ng. and "kados pundi" k. ask 'how, what, why, in what manner'. Like inggeh, the words are polyvalent.

21. One might note here the spatial mental paradigm. Being on my guard during fieldwork against assuming such metaphors to be cross-cultural, I explained to a language comprehension group in the Philosophy Faculty at some length what this metaphor was (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25-32). They listened patiently, and finally pointed out that such things do not raise problems of translation as the same metaphor applies. One can over-assume either way, it would seem.

22. See, for example. Chambert-Loir on the argot of Jakarta, Prokem, a code which is compared to the krama and krama inggil codes in Javanese (1984:108). Prokem in Yogyakarta is mentioned also (1984:110). This kind of code is understood to result from the needs of a segment of society, not just as a result of game-playing. For ideas about how Indonesian figures are a code in Javanese (which contrasts with Anderson 1982 above), see Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982:Ch.3).

23. While being able to understand most of the discussion, my own competence to handle madya correctly, rather than randomly mixing in ngoko and krama, also motivated my 'respect' language behaviour.

24. For a standard analysis of the 'private, unofficial' nature of female networks, see Bourdieu 1979; the most striking ideas and references recently are in Illich 1983. In early nineteenth-century Yogyakarta, only one woman in the Sultan's palace was able to read and write, says Crawfurd, who estimates that during his entire stay he met no more than six women who could (1820, Vol.II:34).

25. The arrival of boxes of such editions at two palace libraries were observed on various occasions in 1983. Library officials would drop everything to shelve them, and one senior official was seen to begin transliterating one of these texts (which are mostly latinised) back into Javanese script.

26. See Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956. In Bali today there are groups which convene for the purposes of explicating texts in Old Javanese, sĕka mbabasan (Zurburchen 1976:3), or bebasan (Hinzler 1981). Pigeaud speaks of groups who convened in the palaces before colonisation ended: "The lettered courtiers of the time used to have private meetings where literary questions were discussed. Mostly they were concerned with the explanation of difficult passages in Old Javanese poets" (1966:406). It is not clear how similar such groups would have been to the Balinese ones today. However, there is possibly something of their spirit remaining in the sarasehan mentioned earlier. Also, an informant had hoped to arrange a discussion group, whereby each participant would be given a tape of Sĕrat Wĕdhatama sung by himself, and then discussions would occur which would be accessible to the tape recorder. Unfortunately this plan did not happen.

27. See Slametmulyana 1954, who discusses the etymology of the term (27-32), and of the names of the different metres (61-94).

28. This is therefore a narrow sense of 'text', not the broad interpretative use of it to imply 'culture' (Geertz 1973). Early on in fieldwork, a text was referred to in mythological terms: called Sĕrat Jangka Seh Bakin(?), it came out of the sea, was the book which furnished Jayabaya with his famous prophecies, and which, as the informant put it, "was revised" by poets such as the Yasadipuras and Ranggawarsita. No reference to this 'text' has been found elsewhere, and it is likely that it was an image for continuity, in a spiritual idiom. It was the only time 'text' was used in this way.

29. See Moertono: "Visible or perceptible things are thought to be possible projections of more abstract or concealed meaning expressed in the word surasa (meaning, inner purpose)" (1968:20-1). He also discusses pralambang with reference to "interpretation of similarity... projection of concealed meanings". This last is closer to informant ideas about surasa. Pralambang ('word, story') is a vexed term in literary studies, and is cognate with lambang ('difficult, obscure'). It has been glossed as "cosmological meanings...the hidden meaning of things" (Nakashima 1982:75). A useful discussion may also be found in Zoetmulder 1974. The word features tantalisingly in Bĕdhaya Sĕmang lyrics: "...layonira sunwaca isi pralambang" (ms. BS23), (his corpse is read the content of the pralambang?).

30. Gonda in writing about the name Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, notes the recurrence of -karta in Javanese place names, and see in it a derivation from Skt krta- 'done, accomplished well done, good'; in Javanese it connotes "in good order, prosperous, thriving, restful, safe, secure, where no one has cares and worries, where no danger is imminent...the word is repeatedly used in connection with a town or locality which after having been in a state of insecurity or disturbance was brought to a condition of rest and prosperity" (1952:217, 226). Gonda's etymological approach to this may be contrasted with a Javanese example in Barsana n.d.; each last term was written in Indonesian: "Ngayo = ngayu (to beautify, seduce) = ngarĕp-arĕp (to desire) = 'want'; Gya = wilujĕng (wellbeing) = slamĕt (ibid., in ng.) = 'wellbeing'; Karta = raharja (prosperous) = tĕntrĕm (at peace) = 'at peace' ; Hadi = linangkung (most superior, etc.) = edi (beautiful) = 'beautiful'; Rat = nĕgara (kingdom, state) = praja (government) = 'state'". This relies on semantic associations, not assonance. One former palace scribe said his work there included to jarwa old texts. He explained this as the polishing of poetry where the metres were wrong or beauty was lacking in some way. For examples of jarwa dhosok in the shadow play, see Becker 1979:236.

31. This example was described as jarwa dhosok by the person who gave it, but other sources suggest it is kĕrata basa, "meanings taken from constituting syllables or pronunciation parts by means of adaptation to fit" (Moertono 1968:20). Purwadarminta (1939) described it as a kawi (O.J.) term meaning the contraction or extension of parts which forms a complete 'original' source with a meaning congruent with the word being analysed. He gives the example of tuwa (old) as 'being from' "untune wis rowa" (his teeth already diminished); he does not speak of falseness or forcing, however,. The grammarian Sastrasoepadma (1958) by contrast, sees kĕrata basa as a practice which will bring about the ruin of the 'origins of words' (asaling tĕmbung), i.e., etymology; he does not mention jarwa dhosok. One might notice here Jakobson's remarks about the influence of the poetic function of the modes of selection and combination in the arrangement of verbal behaviour (1978:358). He sums up as follows: "Briefly, equivalence in sound projected into the sequence as its constitutive principle, inevitably involves semantic equivalence, and on any linguistic level any constituent of such a sequence prompts one of

the two correlative experiences which Hopkins neatly defines as "comparison for likeness' sake" and "comparison for unlikeness' sake" (1978:398-9).

32. Sastrasoepadma 1958:13-14. It also comes into play in Indonesian morphology, and combines with acronyms to give such constructs as Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia: Indonesian Women's Movement); NASAKOM (Nationalism and Communism); berdikari (berdidi di atas kaki sendiri: to stand on your own (two) feet. A recent Prokem slang usage is benci ('to hate') used to mean the opposite 'to really love' (benar-benar cinta). When two complete terms are linked, the practice is called camboran wutuh (complete): e.g., bapa-biyung (father and mother).

33. Sastra sinandhi (from sandhi, see Chapter III, Section iib). For a good example of such literature in a discussion about the relation of music and the self, see Sastrapustaka 1984, where he attributes sense to the six tones which are common to both pelog and slĕndro tuning systems.

34. See Table 6, Note 6. In macapat singing there is often a signal for the next section. For example, at the end of Kinanthi (IV) in Sĕrat Cabolek, an allusion is made to a gambuh dancer, which cues the following section, which is Gambuh (Soebardo 1975, who glosses such sasmita as 'metaphor':114). In Sĕrat Wĕdhatama the sasmita can be an anagram: at the end of Pangkur (verse 14), one finds 'wong anom sami' (young people together/the same) which cues the Sinom section (1982:16).

35. Expecting every name to make sense and thereby yield something of its self in the process, I spent time asking what the names of the dance forms Bĕdhaya and Srimpi 'meant'. The latter seemed simpler. Iwan Tirta's suggestion that Srimpi derives from sarimbit meaning 'a pair' (1982:10) did not impress informants. Pigeaud gives information about a Sarimpi dance (alternative spelling for Srimpi or Sĕrimpi), found in the east peninsula of Java, which was a dance done by a line of soldiers which he says is a kind of Javanese Baris form (1938:338-40). This suggests that the line, rather than the number, influences the name. However, lists of people who are born into an inauspicious sibling group which requires an exorcism (ruwĕt) sometimes have the group of four girls named as sarimpi. The names for such groups do however vary, and it is possible that there is a borrowing from the dance, rather than the reverse. Bĕdhaya is more problematic and suggestive. A link with Buddha (Budha) has been argued (Wisnu Wardhana 1981). A kĕrata basa exercise may be conducted by breaking the name down into parts: bedha (war, rout, etc.) and daya (O.J. = B.I. ati, or modern Javanese 'power'); the form dhaya is a variant, so one need not be morphologically incorrect to suggest that Bĕdhaya might be linked to the idea of exerting force in battle. However, this working out was not substantiated in the field. Possible variants and divergences from Sanskrit roots were attempted. Ben Suharto suggested that the 'sense' was bĕda ya: ya, ꦪ in Javanese

script, is also the sign for the number '9'; beda he glossed as 'different', thus giving 'nine different' (personal communication). Prawiroatmodjo (1981), however, gives Skt and O.J. badha as 'the same' - Bĕdhaya may also be spelled Badhaya. There should also be taken into account the different 'a' sounds in Sanskrit which are not so distinguished in Javanese. Could there be a connection with bā́dhya-, (to press, force, drive away repel?), or bā̀dhya (to be pressed, etc.?), or might there have been a shift from v- to b-, making a connection from Skt vā́ḍabà - 'female horse' (also bā́ḍavā, bā́ḍabā) possible? (Monier-Williams 1976). Or perhaps there might be a connection with bhedajña 'knowing the difference', or bedajñana 'knowledge of the difference' (Zoetmulder 1982). The possibilities by means of jarwa dhosok, not to mention Arabic references, are considerable - but finally, not particularly helpful, or useful. It seemed likely that given the use of metathesis in names such as lontar, a palm leaf used for writing on, from ron tal (tal leaf) (Zoetmulder 1974), Bĕdhaya might be a metathesis of the word for female attendant, soldier, or slave, biyada (though without the dh of Bĕdhaya), which Horne glosses as 'female court servant who dances behind the king' (1974). There remains the problem that the name may not refer to anything essential or limited, and as such, should not be treated to such intensive etymological endowing. After all, there is also a Bĕdhayan dance in Banyumas (Pigeaud 1938:273-4), though again, which came first is hard to know.

36. An example of a fruit: tanpa basa (without [polite] language) gives kokosan (a lychee-like fruit) by means of koko (or ngoko: low-level Javanese). The connection is semantically from 'without polite language', i.e. ngoko, and from the sound of koko to kokosan (Sasrasumarta 1958:25).

37. On the relation of pantun to wangsalan, see Pigeaud 1938:297, 462-3. Another example of a wangsalan form, 'walking wangsalan' (wangasalan lampah) because one term is repeated, or walks from the first to the second part, may also have figured in song games. Tĕpas aren: aren Arab widjilira (the remains of palm fibre: the seeds of the Arab palm fibre) gives tindak-tanduk: nora tinggal tatakrama (do not forget ('leave behind') tatakrama). The first part is by the word duk (black sugar palm fibre) which has a semantic association with aren and sounds like tanduk. The second part is by the word kurma (a kind of Arabic mango tree) which is also called aren Arab; so firstly there is a link by synonymy, and then by sound, to krama. (The educative character of both this and the above example might be noted.

38. Wulung wida mĕngaloring bana (ms B23). Some said that wida is ijo, 'green'. What this wangsalan might mean is unclear. The 'response' might be in the following lines: "Ĕmbok, ĕmbok, ĕmbok, alap ana/ Alap ana kĕkudung sangkaning paran" ('Mother'[a recurrent word/sound in Sĕmang songs], the hawk is there, the hawk is the closure [cover?] of the source and origin [of all things]").

39. See Pigeaud 1960-3 on lyrics in fourteenth-century Java.

40. "Kaya madu kalawan manise, yĕkti ora kĕna kapisahena" (Ranggawarsita 1954:19). Cf. Sĕrat Wĕdhatama, Gambuh section verse 76, "Ĕndhi manis ndi madu, yen wis bisa nuksmeng pasang sĕmu", which follows an image of the unity of the alloy in the kĕris, its pamor (1982:50).

41. "Lumah kurĕbing surah ginigit padha rasane" (top [and] bottom in sirih bitten both to their taste).

42. Ambar indeed expresses a quality which is simultaneously analogous to - being unlimited, elusive of clear definition according to the sense by which it is perceived - and a means to, spiritual bliss, knowledge, transcendence: the stage often indicated by the term ma'rifat (from the Arabic), a Sufi-style gnosticism (see further Chapter VII). There is something of this in Derrida's notion of différance, also, if I am not mistaken.

43. In the Sĕmang songs one finds "Engge engge kumunang kasturi dhatĕng manah ira kang wus lunga alelana" ("Yes, then the musk comes to my/his heart which has already gone roaming" - a loose translation (ms. BS 23). Cf. also Sĕrat Cabolek (Soebardi 1975:127, 190). The contemporary poet Rendra also uses 'kesturi', recognising Javanese traditions in Indonesian verse: "Semerbak bau kesturi/dan endapan mimpi malammu" (Serenada Merjan:1961) (The fragrance of musk/settles [steals] upon the dream of your night). In this example, as in that from the Sĕmang, there is eroticism in the image.

44. See Soebardi 1975:124, and Drewes 1978:49.

45. Sĕrat Wirid, Ranggawarsita 1954:20; see also Hadiwijono 1967:127.

46. See Moyer 1980 for a detailed presentation of one case of whirling, and the terms by which it is explained and understood by the Mevlevi Sufis in Turkey.

47. The botanical terms for these trees are as follows: tanjung: diplazium esculentum (Swartz); kweni: mangifera odorata (Griff.); pakĕl: M. foetida, Lour. when unripe ('kweni' when ripe); kĕpĕl: stetechocarpus burahol (Hook F. and Th.) (Heyne 1916:22)

48. Palace chronograms (candrasĕngkala) often use snakes, as in the one at the entrance to the central court yard: Dwi (two) naga (snakes) rasa (feel) tunggal (united) is 1692 A.J. See further Ricklefs 1978: Appendix 2. It is now common to have two sĕngkala, for the moon month (candra) and the sun (surya) month. The head of a dance school in Yogyakarta was very interested in devising sĕngkala. At the old buildings of the school, the suryasĕngkala for AD 1961 was: ambudi (training) = 1; mangisĕp (tastes) = 6; haruming (scent, aroma) = 9; wiji (embryo, germ) = 1. For the new campus, founded in AD 1982, the suryasangkala was: mangĕlar (winged) = 2; mangĕsti (elephant) = 8; mĕkaring (development) = 9; budaya (civilisation) = 1. The candrasĕngkala here for 1915 A.J. was pañca (five) = 5; driya (senses) = 1; garpura (gate) = 9;

manungsa (humanity) = 1. Such chronograms use sound and sense in order to achieve a fit through apparently random means, but have the added constraint of a visual referent. The 1982 sĕngkala featured a relief of an elephant with two wings. If there are two sĕngkala, the two statements of the chronogram may be linked to form a sequence.

49. Such series vary, as is illustrated by the puppeteer Ki Hadisugita's in the play Mintaraga, cited in Soedarsono 1984:138-9, who translates the speech into English: "One symbolises concentration of one wish and not doing bad deeds; two, I wish that man pay homage to God; three symbolises the number of the universe's flowers, i.e., the sun, the moon, and the stars; four symbolises the four cardinal points; five symbolises five days of the five-day week; the sage's characters are six, i.e. sabda (words), hĕning (clear), langgĕng (eternal), utama (wise), tuhu (faithful), and dadi (becoming). A sage has to concentrate on his penance. Seven symbolises seven days of the week; eight symbolises the man's friends in his life in the world, i.e. four outside and four inside himself; nine is the character of the gods. The number of the gods is thirty, but their characters are nine". The Javanese passage rendered by 'symbolised' has sing, 'that which'. Again, the mnemonic role of such a listing is clearly evident.

50. For an account of the nine sages, see Hardjowirogo 1983:22-4; Siddique 1977 is also of interest.

51. Cf. Lacan on empiricism and numerical systems, where he argues that "It is this question of the 'one more' that is the key to the genesis of numbers and instead of this unifying unity that constitutes two in the first case I propose that you consider the real numerical genera is of two" (1972:191). The prevalence of five-seven-nine classifications has been treated as seven plus or minus two, seven being a maximal memory index (Miller 1956). The necessity of numbers, and the question of why there should necessarily be more than seven planets has been discussed by Quine (1953:139-59). Recently, it has been suggested that pairs imply mediations, and should thus be treated as triads (Parkin 1985).

52. See also Sastrapustaka: "The human body may be compared to a chest for storing wayang puppets" (1984:309-10). Taking the names of the five gamĕlan tones common to both tuning systems - barang (thing), gulu (neck), dhadha (chest), lima (five), and ĕnĕm (six), he considers the relations of these five references which he argues constitute a "symbolic image of the human body" (1984:316). Ullman's remark that "Body metaphors tend to be from rather than towards the body" (1972:214), might be queried with reference to the Javanese data, as is the usefulness of the term 'metaphor' in this instance.

53. "'Il n'y a pas de nom pour cela': lire cette proposition en sa platitude. Cet innommable n'est pas an être ineffable dont aucun nom se pourrait s'approcher: Dieu, par exemple. Cet innommable est le jeu qui fait qu'il y a des effets nominaux, des structures

relativement unitaires ou automatiques qu'on appelle noms, des chaînes de substitutions de noms, et dans lesquelles, par exemple, l'effet nominal 'différance' est lui-même entrainé, emporté, réinscrit, comme fausse entrée ou une fausse sortie est encore partie du jeu, fonction du système" (1968:65-6). ("'There is no name for that': to read this proposition in its platitude. Thus unnameable is no ineffable being which no name can approach: God, for example. This unnameable is the game which makes there to be nominal effects, structures which are relatively unitary or automatic which we call names, chains of substitutions of names, and which, for example, the nominal effect of differance is itself drawn along, carried away, reinscribed, as a false entrance or exit is still a stake in the game, function of the system"; my translation.) See also Derrida 1980 where he cites Heidegger on the effacement of meaning and the word as "a name for something indeterminate" (118).

54. This emerged in discussion about whether or not weapons such as the kĕris or arrows played a special role in allowing ideas about identity and perception to be organised, both in view of their prevalence in dance, and also because the kĕris is commonly held to represent its owner in the literature on Java. Informants usually responded to such questions with specific examples from named shadow plays or particular legends. This suggested that the kĕris or arrows, etc. served more as general references which have become heavy with use, rather than indicating any essential symbolic function of a Ricoeurian kind. There was one case of a young informant who had undertaken an expedition to Surakarta for me using the image in his story of what had happened in a more general tone of heroism. He had anticipated problems in a certain encounter, and spoke of "bringing out my kĕris, making my approach like that of Kresna". When the anticipated conflict did not manifest, he said that he "put away my kĕris".

55. So this thesis has nine chapters, which bear on arrangement, adjacencies, and sequences, and thus on classification and how information is conveyed. The extent to which there is an element independent of the nine-part structure is historical, rather than a fact of reading and writing. This might be a feature of any compendious undertaking.

CHAPTER VII

WHAT MAKES A DANCER?
PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE SELF

> Rifai was asked: "Why do you have to use so many analogies when you are talking of high understanding? Can we not speak in plain language of such things?" He said: "This is an example of 'sublime ignorance producing correct information'. If there were no people who did not know things, we would not be able to discern as to who is wise. Know therefore, that language itself is an analogy. Every word and phrase, every letter, is an analogy. In words we cannot speak of higher things directly, since no language encompasses higher things and not lower things as well"('Language', Shah 1977:68).

> Not-knowing is not a form of ignorance but a difficult transcendence of knowledge (Bachelard 1969:xxviii).

> The fountain turned on. It has a definite geometrical shape, but the shape did not exist before it was turned on. Compare the arguments about the pre-existence of the soul.
> But the little pipes are there before, which give it that shape as soon as the water is turned on.
> The water is the same though the geometrical figures of different fountains differ.
> By analogy we may perhaps claim that there is no such thing as a personal soul. The personality of the soul depends on the bodily frame which receives it, i.e., on the shape of the pipes.
> The soul is a spirit, certainly, but undifferentiated and without personality. The personality is given by the bodily frame which receives and shapes it (Hulme 1971:240).

The simple form of questions raised in this chapter is "Who dances, and why?" Having considered some features of Javanese discourse, these considerations will now be applied to some ideas about persons and action, and knowledge which arose through the reference to dance. These models should be taken as aspectual, contingent, opportunistic even

in their import, rather than intrinsic, stable, and representative in a general way. In question here are the problems which arose from the initial hypothesis for this thesis: that dance in Java is to do with a self-expression and impulse which is 'different' from ones commonly associated with the West. This chapter will serve to complete the illustration of the error of this formulation and others in a similar vein, and it will be shown that these rest on assumptions which have little to do with ones which emerged as relevant in the research in hand.

The material in this chapter is more ineluctable and imponderable than the data presented so far, but it should be remembered that it is less 'social facts' than various and variable levels of indigenous analysis which are being referred to, although these interpretations do have stylistic regularities. Also, cara jawa being understood as a way of using codes, an ethnographic mediation should be understood as a displacement of, not something identical with, the structure of this expression.

Two comments made by informants during fieldwork may serve as texts for this chapter:

> In dance is reflected the character of the person.
>
> When a person dances, their character appears - you can see the person.[1]

It has been recently remarked that "To see others as sharing a nature with ourselves is the merest decency" (Geertz 1983:16). In view of the discussion above about what 'being Javanese' entails, the viability of such strategic condescension might be arguable. As for what the Javanese would have to say about this kind of 'decency', it is best left to the imagination.

This chapter then will consider the person as dancer and as in other discourses. This might be expressed in the following questions. What is watak ('character')? What is happening in the 'reflection' in dance? What kind of practice is dance? What do explanations deriving from it reveal about action and perception? These questions will be considered, with the constant reminder of the dichotomous perspective of lair-batin. Given also the notion of the palace as university as well as universe, the theme of dance as education and its entailing of ideals about the Javanese person and behaviour, it should be remembered that ideals are by nature not necessarily explicable, and that practicality and ideality tend to exchange winks as they pass each other on their semantically differentiated paths. This process of ambiguity should be understood as maximally evident in the following arguments.

After laying down the grounds for the educational model of dance, with illustrations taken mainly from the generation of students, and having noted in its identification as educational a therapeutic dimension, the argument will return to rasa, a term vital for considering the question of sense and perception. This will be followed by a more detailed discussion of the elements understood to form the batin, and the process involved in the dancing will be considered in the light of these, drawing from statements from the senior generation. Ideas arising from this concerning areas such as 'expression' and 'communication' will then be considered, serving as a bridge between this chapter and the next one, which will be concerned with group formations, the contest for authenticity, and versions of the past.

(i) Intending to Dance

> We had never learnt to dance, and, for some reason, we had supposed it to be a thing which everybody could do quite easily and naturally. I think Linda realized there and then what it took me years to learn, that the behaviour of civilized man really has nothing to do with nature, that all is artificiality and art more or less perfected (Mitford 1980:53).

It has been argued that dance movements are bĕksa as distinct from other movements because of the intention (karĕp ng., karsa k.) to dance, and that any such intention also entails varying ideas or recognitions about why these movements are done, with what the actions are identified, or to what they refer. If movements are bĕksa, they carry a palace identification even if the sites of practice and training have been moved to another place. What will be at stake in this chapter is the kind of intention or action which is involved in dance and other spheres which entered into the discussions held on the subject.

It is first necessary to describe the place of dance in the life-cycle. This also happens to be one idiom for describing the importance of dance in Yogyakarta, and will provide a tangible impression of dancing as an activity. As the former palace practice has already been discussed, what follows draws from contemporary conditions.

Small Javanese children are encouraged to move to music of all kinds, at home or in public. There will always be a group of small boys at shadow plays mimicking the puppeteer, conversing with members of the audience, and who, if sufficiently interested, will return home to become, with the aid of small crudely painted cardboard puppets, 'little puppeteers' (dhalang cilik), half-improvising, half-reproducing plots they have either seen or heard, for today shadow plays are broadcast on radio and sold on cassettes.

Small children may learn to dance from the age of seven or so in primary school (S D) where such activities are now being integrated into the main curriculum, instead of being 'extra'. Alternatively, they may join organisations. Older informants recalled that the first organisation outside the palace, Kridha Bĕksa Wirama, stipulated a minimum age of eleven so as not to interfere with the child's acquisition of other skills. Males in Yogyakarta often expressed the view that dancing belongs to the childhood years: shadow-puppetry and music are befitting to the maturer years. There is a school for puppeteers, Habiranda, attached to the palace, as well as many organisations and groups for music. Most institutions, be they private companies or schools, have their own gamĕlan ensemble. Dance academies in Yogyakarta have music courses, and the secondary academy also provides the most advanced formal training in puppetry. Traditionally puppeteers learnt from other puppeteers, usually their own fathers.

Private schools which are often Christian and have large numbers of Chinese students, have always dedicated curriculum time to dance, and one finds good Chinese dancers participating in organisations, in spite of quota regulations for the intake of Chinese into state institutions.

Most organisations attract more girls than boys; in one case the ratio for registration was in the region of five to one. Participation in the socialising effect of dance training means for the girls that they will be able to establish contact with males outside their family and neighbourhood, firstly, with the teacher who may be male - and many are not scrupulous about following palace protocol which restricts touching a trainee of the opposite sex with, at the most, a pencil or ruler, never the hand, and secondly, other trainees who are male. In

most organisations, as in the palace, in formal practices boys may watch girls, but the girls retire when it is the turn of the boys. In connection with the idea that dance is for boys, not men, and also with the decreasing tradition of male transvestism , in former palace conventions, it is interesting to notice that the palace-style clothing worn by boys (puthutan) as they go to circumcision, the rite of passage from childhood to malehood (Platen-Album No.28:Plates 11-26), consists of a jerkin and wrapped skirt as worn by female dancers, though the headdress is different.

Having reached the end of the first stage of secondary education (SMTP), the pupil may choose formal or vocational training. Today Indonesia has an excess of university graduates, and is attempting to promote the vocational option (as of 1984), which includes the secondary dance academy in Yogyakarta. Its head, however, made no bones about the problems of unemployment: even good dancers completing the training might still end up driving rickshaws or selling noodles.

One should notice that girls are all trained in the Putri mode, although state academies are starting to allow girls access to male modes. Males usually begin with Impur and then the mode which best fits their physical development. Male dancers in the palace used to dance one role for years; today flexibility is emphasised. Surveys conducted in the academies showed that when asked about particular experiences in dance, most girls tended to specify forms (Bĕdhaya), while males cited modes or roles. Both genders expressed preferences for 'happy' dances or 'sad' ones: not a very enlightening response, and a modernist statement, as will become evident. Approximately half the students of both genders, slightly more in the secondary-level academy, stated no preference or ignored the question.

Not everyone dances from childhood. A sought-after female dancer, contradicting other informants' information, said that the fact of her father being very much involved in dance as well as her mother having been a bĕdhaya made her uninterested: only after her father's death did she begin to train, since which time she has been active in organisations, both dancing and administering, toured overseas, and having completed her academic degree, has recently enrolled at the tertiary academy. Another female dancer who appears regularly in palace productions, was trained at the secondary academy where she now teaches, as she does also at Siswa Among Bĕksa; she also participates in smaller more informal organisations, and has appeared in film sequences of classical dancing. Her participation in the academy and this organisation is unusual, as most of its students and teachers tend to associate with the organisation, Pamulangan Bĕksa Ngayugyakarta, which is run by the senior teacher of female dance in the academy. Financial motivations behind dancers' choices of venue have already been discussed; dancers who perform in concerts given by this organisation which has tourist board connections, may earn Rp 1,000 for an evening's performance. Although this is much more than the token Rp 25 for attending a palace practice, there is less social prestige attached. Older female dancers recalled when they were young that their fathers did not mind them dancing in the palace, but objected to public appearance: again, one might note the special nature of the palace venue.

The ratio of men and women who show themselves dancing after marriage changes. It is rare for mothers to dance; as in the palace tradition, mothers teach rather than appear. There are several exceptions to this in Yogyakarta today including the palace, where one

notable dancer may be seen performing on Sundays, or in Wayang Wong fragments with her two teenage sons and daughter, the boys having been taken through part of their training in the palace by their maternal grandfather. This kind of dance dynasty is becoming rarer, but is not extinct. In spite of the view that dance is for childhood (men), some argued that a male dancer reaches his peak during his late thirties and forties, as prior to this he is too concerned with technical brilliance, rather than the inner aspects, which will be discussed below. In palace productions, the massed ranks of the gods are normally played by these older men, chests bared, bellies strapped in by the costume, unrecognisable in their make-up (Illustration 8). The politics of casting will be taken up in the next chapter. Once past the rigours of performance, men will teach, play music (if interested), and sing. This is different from the female life-cycle, where in palace custom singing and dancing tend to be mutually exclusive, even serially.

In conversations about dance, a recurrent theme was that of its improving and educative capacities. For some this had a moral significance; for others a spiritual one, as in the case of Joged Mataram (below); dance "means that one's batin has to go straight to God";[2] most generally, there was expressed an unspecified but evident socialising tenor. Several informants told anecdotes about how individuals or groups who were so unruly as to be causing their parents and teachers problems, after learning Javanese dance for a time changed in behaviour completely, were controlled, made less noise, etc. One man said that a girl was so changed that "I didn't recognise her. Can this be the same person?"[3] The third view will be considered here, and the others below.

It has been shown that dance may serve as a kind of training in behavioural codes as practised in the palace, in terms of speech, gesture, and general comportment. So, informants sometimes said that Bĕdhaya was a training for female attendants in the palace, one version among many along these lines. The part played by HBVIII in generating this educative ethos in the palace should not, however, be underestimated. An experimenter, he had all his sons removed from the palace and housed with Dutch families before eventually being brought back, and, with one exception, instilled with palace values and codes (see Mochtar 1982:Fig.23). It was at this time too that dance was being developed as an education outside the palace in KBW, that it was reaching its heyday (for Wayang Wong) inside, and that the growing consciousness of the possibility of striving for a Javanese identity - albeit with borrowings from Montessori - was rooted in the Taman Siswa educational system. As will be shown in the next chapter, the contemporary discourse of traditionalism is also that of 1930s' nationalism, and dance partakes of and contributes to this mutual inter-formulation. Montessori or not, however, just as orders in colonial Java were dissimulated (see Chapter VI), so in Taman Siswa one of the precepts was "From behind bring influence to bear":[4] not only commands, but also educative strategies, should be subtle and unevident. As will be argued more fully later, dance, being silent and non-propositional, semantically empty or over-full, is caught up in this kind of process, which, as will be shown later, is part of a system of multiplicity and optionality with regard to stance. This is one aspect of a set of ideas which are to be presented in subsequent sections of this chapter, and which bear on what Javanese socialisation makes of the person.

Javanese dance is often seen as the epitome of a natural state of being: as in the initial hypothesis to this thesis. Thus, "few peoples are more naturally sensitive to rhythm than the Javanese".[5] The reasons for the preferred gloss of (w)irama as 'measure' will be made clear presently. It cannot be emphasised too much that this 'measure' is by no means natural, as anyone who has spent time on the streets of Java will know, measure being evidently lacking in both speech and gesture. This has been identified uncompromisingly by the poet and dramatist Rendra, who writes:

> Although there is much evidence of Javanese people being violent (murders in political disturbances, stone-throwing battles between youths, rape, blows against those who criticise the customs of the people, murders of small-time thieves, injustice towards pick-pockets, and so forth), it would appear that in their ideal world, controlled instincts have a very important place. Their customs and manners are full of controlled instincts. It may be that Javanese civilisation has consciously balanced the violent character of its masses. Their kawruh (general knowledged, rather than 'science'), kěbatinan, language and arts are directed primarily towards the controlled instinct. Symbolism in their life is not a logical symbolism, except in its final manifestation of the experience of controlled instincts.[6]

This statement gains confirmation from observing the Javanese streets, which demonstrate a process which may be understood as both antithetical to both traditional and educational values where these converge. One doctor of my acquaintance saw the problem in terms of mental breakdown and libidinal waywardness among drivers of public transport. Alternatively, one can see it as the place where the effects of rapid social change occur. In either case, what is clear is that under these conditions, the structures implied in cara jawa break down. There may be grounds here to suggest that there is a sense in

which the person in the raw in Java is not good, in the sense of disruptive. This may be linked to comments already made about human nature, and the fragile state of community cohesion in the face of the value of rukun. Similarly, cara jawa comes from training or practice (latih) when a person is educated, either in the state system, or by following a teacher (mĕguru) of dance, the martial arts, the psycho-spiritual practices (ilmu kĕbatinan), all of which may be understood to instil measures (in different ways) which are non-natural. It will be shown presently how dance in Java may appear to be an epitomising practice, and why it remains appropriate as a path along which to explore discursive and ideological practices and processes.

One concept which bears on this and which will serve to ground the exploration of the person is that of naluri; it also serves to connect the theme of place, for where a person comes from is expressed in this term - be it as 'natural propensity' or 'inherited characteristics'. The word has been glossed as "deeply ingrained traits (especially behavioural traits), inherited from one's ancestors either through biological or social transmission" (Weiss 1979:182). The secondary meaning of naluri given is 'instinct', but is it not surprising that Weiss's informants were confused by this, as it is an Indonesian use. What the Javanese for 'instinct' might be remains to be considered later. Weiss's informant statements and my own research indicate that naluri refers to something which is passed down. This may apply to habits, presuppositions, and also traditions. There will be evidence presented later for naluri being the appropriate Javanese match for 'traditions', with a set of implications for a person's present affiliations and identifications of and with a past - which makes naluri come close to 'discourse', as already suggested.

For now it should be noted as an important idiom for the identification between the self and a preference for a particular dance style. As Wisnu Wardhana put it, "It's like this, because I was born a Yogyakartan, my sense is that I am obliged to continue my naluri. I don't use that term in a fanatical way, but there (Surakarta), quite a lot of them are also continuing their naluri. If I continue their's as well, it means the ones from here will be lost".[7] In a survey conducted at SMKI-KONRI and ASTI, this was expressed in the phrase "melestarikan kebudayaan"[8] ('to sustain culture'), in most cases (of Yogyakartans), this being Yogyakarta. Other preferences were expressed in terms of familiarity, what was first learnt. Some of the ASTI students preferred the Surakartan style on grounds of being easier to learn. By and large people preferred the style they had had more familiarity with. In SMKI-KONRI, only one Yogyakartan preferred Surakartan style; two had no preference. in ASTI, the same applied. No student from Surakarta noted a preference for the Yogyakartan style. Fifty-three per cent of all respondents had a parent or sibling who danced, or was a puppeteer. Others claimed as motivation the "development of culture" (pembangunan kebudayaan), suggesting the kind of line taken in their course lectures. Others gave simpler reasons: enjoyment, access to training. Some gave more modernist replies: to develop technical mastery in order to become a professional dancer or choreographer. Motives emerging from the survey were thus expressed in terms of ideology, pleasure, familiarity, and ease of access.

Familiarity is most commonly given as a motivating factor in having a dance interest by the generation aged forty years and above, who trained in the palace or organisations established between 1918 and 1950.

Many coming from families connected by blood to the palace said that they danced because it was something one did, there just happened to be a lot of dance activities around them. Others from families employed at the palace spoke in terms of duty, to serve dance, or even, a 'pure' (suci) duty. Princes said that their father (HBVIII) made them dance. In these circles motives were given in terms of self-evidence or serving a cause.

The ground of naluri thus become caught up with the evaluation of an activity as adiluhung. It should be remembered that this term is cognate with luhur/luhung 'noble, superior', which lexicographers give as synonymous with utama, 'virtuous', and bĕbuden, a person of budi, an important term which will concern us later.

One should notice, however, that it was not normal for a person to specialise in one area only, though there is today specialisation arising from course structures in educational institutions. Palace dancers might be recruited for their skills at painting (sungging) or poetry, and then become dancers. One informant who had trained in dance and had fathered a family of dancers and painters himself, was also a sculptor, painter (in oils and bathik), and potter, had devised his own form of Pĕncak Silat (indigenous martial arts), and had a wide knowledge of shadow play and kĕbatinan. In many respects then, he was a model homo javanicus. A feature already noted concerning older generation palace dancers was their self-confessed lack of musical skill or embarrassment about this, claiming to have tin ears, that as long as one could count it was fine. Today's dance students are encouraged to become familiar with music, even if not to a very high playing standard, so in this respect modern education is not specialist. Also, the palace

tradition did not expect its dancers to sing. The dance-opera Langëndriya, it may be remembered, originated outside the palace proper beyond the prerogative of the Sultan.

In view of the gist of a passage in Weiss where an informant suggests that one's naluri bring about a predisposition to orientate quickly to the forms of one's own culture (1979:18), enquiries were made in the field concerning this. It seemed that it was not the movements of dance - which one person called 'olah raga' (physical education) - so much as the 'life' (gesangipun) of the dance which were identified as giving problems to foreigners attempting to master it. Of such students who reached a high enough standard to perform, it was often said that the movements were good, as good as a Javanese could do them, but the spirit (jiwa) was wrong. While this may appear to throw the characterisation of bëksa as 'dance movement' into some question, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to pursuing various paths to find out more about the dancer and the dance, and the terms in which these may be perceived or known. This will serve to complement what has already been shown as the external identifications and references presupposed in palace dancing.

(ii) Versions of the Self

In asking about the dancer, it should be remembered that there is no generic term for this in Javanese, performers being named for the form they do. The question of notions of identity and person has already been raised, but we still need to explore the relation of lair-batin and what it can tell us about the process which may or may not be akin to expression, in Yogyakartan dancing. It has already been suggested that lair-batin is not a simple material-spiritual contrast;

it has also been shown that 'body' is used figuratively. The approach here will be to show how terminologies which ostensibly derive from lair-batin perspective in fact intertwine.

Let us start with a notion which recurs in local discourses on educational policy, where the English phrase "character building" is cited (the Indonesian word for character or self is pribadi or kepribadian).[9] Once the idea of self and character has been explored, it will be more clear what is going on in dance, what the taking on of a role involves, and also how dance as an activity is associated with other styles of practice.

Discussions about how the self is understood in Java yielded the following terms: angga, awak, awak dhewe, dhewe/dheweke, salira-saria (k.i.). This last comes from Skt sarira, 'body', and all these terms in fact also have the sense of 'body'. The word děděg, frequently used with reference to a person's fittingness for a dance role, connotes 'build, physique, presence', and so, like the first set of terms, does not give the self as abstract and separate from the physical incarnation of the body. Raga (used also in B.I., as in olah raga, P.E.) specifies 'body', but implies the other part, jiwa (the 'soul', 'inner').[10] Wadhag also denotes the physical aspect of the self, but again, is understood as a part; in spiritual discourses, it is understood to comprise the three elements held together by a fourth, sari swasana (vital flower of the ether), a sort of cosmic glue (Brongtodiningrat 1978: 24).

In texts of this sort which tend to create their own systems of analysis, the term aku ('I', ng.) is used to refer to the self. The krama of aku is kula, deriving from kawula, and has the shadow sense of

'your humble servant': it was noted in Chapter VI that some people use this word, or even the B.I. 'saya', instead of 'yes'. Salira/sarira (k.i.) is used as an honorific term of address to a high superior. The difficulty of isolating neutral terms which may then be stabilised as concepts independent of their use and assumptions about appropriateness pertaining to this use has already come up on several occasions in this study, and is also relevant here. Most terms available if not identical with 'self' tend to carry quite pungent associations with their specific uses. In some cases aku has the sense of 'ego', in others of a world spirit. One commentator claims that the Javanese aku comprises the Absolute (God), oneself, one's friends, relations, and spouse (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:142). Aku is therefore not necessarily a self in the sense of an individual person.

Terms such as ingsun and suksma sĕjati (sometimes a synonym for salira) are also maximally endowed references with a special evaluative force, which some have related to the idea of 'superego'. The Indic purusha is also used in literary or specialist discourses for 'person', but not in common parlance.[11] Words used for 'person' or 'human being' are most commonly wong/tiyang (ng./k.), manungsa, and more eloquently, jalma or janma.[12]

It has already been pointed out that the perspectives of lair-batin tend to rupture coherence in simple semantic terms, and it is also clear that a person is understood to be constituted by the visible and the invisible implied by this phrase, which, as said, also suggests the exoteric and the esoteric, the contingent and necessary, the imminent and immanent. The batin factor especially will be returned to presently.

The term suggested for character both generally and in connection with dance is watak. However, it gradually transpired that if it signified 'character', it also entailed associations of awak and salira in particular, though the dissent encountered in the field about the relation between these is worth noting here. Some informants insisted that watak, far from being 'character', was the more outer, concerned with attributes (sipat; also 'quality, feature, property' in some systems;, 'energies, capacities), and behaviour (B.I. tingkah laku; Jav: pratingkah, patrap, solah tingkah). Sipat will be taken up later, and it will be suggested that this particular informant statement is somewhat surprising in view of other uses of it. Some said that watak may be criticised, while salira may not: you can say "watake elek" (he's got an ugly watak), but never "salira awon": here the fact of salira being associated with high-level usage entails its immunity from negative ascription. Or, as the strategy of respect is packed into it, it is impossible to use it otherwise. Once again, the extent to which semantically equivalent lexemes at different levels may be understood to be synonyms may be questioned.

Other informants felt that it was watak which was the more 'inner', but that none the less it was still more open to criticism than salira which here was linked to dẽdẽg, in this case both having their outer manifest aspects highlighted. Some said that salira was more neutral than watak, perhaps suggesting the invulnerability due to its part in the respect mode, where it means "You", and is not there to be judged, while watak can: "his watak is crude".[13]

The use of watak in dance conversations is sometimes replaced by wanda, the particular facial representation of a puppet or dancer,

which may vary for main characters (see Chapter III, Section iii). The simple account is that watak is the character and wanda the face which expresses it. However, on other occasions this matter was discussed in such a way as to invalidate a simple formulation (below). In Old Javanese, wanda has the sense of awak (body); in modern Javanese, it tends to denote the facial appearance. The term wajah is also used for this, though the Quranic Arabic extends as broadly as 'presence, final and efficient cause'. The secondary sense of wanda is 'shape, form'; and it also retains its Skt sense of 'syllable'.

In some cases it was suggested that watak was the foundation (dasar) of a person, and one source gives as its synonym ambĕk, glossed in English as 'character' (Gonda 1952:309). Ambĕk, however, also designates the capacity to have characteristics, and tends towards 'disposition, inclination'.[14]

Atma is another word which means both ambĕk, and 'soul, self' (O.J.), and 'vital spirits' (Modern Javanese) (Gonda 1952:155). More will have to be said concerning this area of reference later, but considering the data so far, it would appear that the self is recognised on Javanese terminological usage less as an entity than as a heterogeneous field of forces and potentials, with some more bounded than others, but, as already discovered of other systems, with an emphasis on fluidity, not boundaries - which may be a reason why 'body' cannot be pinned down separately.[15] As has already been pointed out, there is a tendency to assimilate diverse or conflicting aspects to a unitary (unifying) whole - for instance, the fight in the Bĕdhaya, the way the puppets are interpreted in the shadow play - and this area of conceptualisation extends to the handling of even what might have been

hoped to be free of metaphorical fracture, the physical body. However, the split-level perspective of lair-batin should have already pre-empted the possibility of any such hope.

Having failed then to identify very usefully any homogenous person who might dance, it is necessary to change tack, and to consider the constituting forces and energies which are suspected to make up the person. To this end then, it is necessary to return to a word which has made brief appearances so far, but which for good reasons has been held back till now; the word is rasa.

(iii) Sense of the Self

> ...three of the five (gamĕlan) tones (barang, gulu, dhadha)...together comprise a symbolic imagery of the human body. The tone lima suggests love (sĕngsĕm), i.e. love for all sorts of beauty - springing from the five senses, and the tone ĕnĕm suggests feeling (rasa) which penetrates the whole body and soul (Sastrapustaka 1984:316).

Rasa (raos k.) has come to represent what is peculiarly Javanese in ethnography and other commentaries. To take it on is to become implicated in a field of identifications and references which is made more perilous by the conditions of collusion, implication, and non-sense which inhere in this term (or expression) and its usages.[16] The fact that rasa is invoked both as the grounds for defining discourses and as being inside them also merely serves to make translation even more hazardous.

Many have kept to the path trodden by Geertz, inscribing rasa in the white-collar weltangschauung of the privileged sensibilities of the Javanese bureaucracy, the priyayai. Here, rasa is 'feeling': "The taste of a banana is its rasa; a hunch is a rasa; a pain is a rasa;

and so is a passion" (1960:238). Rasa is also 'meaning': "Whatever lives has rasa, and whatever has rasa lives", according to 'more articulate' informants (1960:238). Given the theoretical concern with meaning, its capacity to saturate appearance and endow it with dimension and "thickness" (Geertz 1973), these remarks might be more prophetic of theoretical developments than statements of Javanese apprehensions of rasa. One might also be wary of statements about the unification of feeling and meaning in a religious way,[17] given the attitude held in Yogyakarta by informants who suggested that religion belongs to the field of lair, not batin, and will later have cause to question the formulation of rasa in terms of art: "Art, like etiquette, is seen as providing a material form for an essentially spiritual content, an outward symbolisation of an inward rasa" (1960:269).

Geertz acknowledges that any account of rasa must take into account also the dichotomy of the "external behavioural world of sound, shape, gesture" in contrast to the "fluid inner world of life" (i.e. lair-batin), although one might question the subjectivist view of batin, with rasa as a kind of aestheticised perceptual component, implying as it does a misplaced analytical objectivity, and also overlooks the way in which lair and batin are available as alternative perspectives for viewing and explaining the world at all times. In both cases rasa is an intellecting faculty, not only receiving the rasa inhering in objects perceived by the five senses (pañcadriya), but also constituting its value within one's own senses and sense, in ways which have already been discussed. To catch the term in a single semantic net is like trying to catch that element which is one of its secondary meanings, mercury (banyu rasa). Indeed, if there is something in rasa which is elusive and ineluctable

in its own terms, then it does seem to offer to theoreticians the scope to let their own ideas play: if 'meaning', then why not 'imagination', one might ask? However, in order to deliver the Javanese from the grip of the semantic circularity which is one aspect of the vicious circle generated in interpretive approaches (Rabinow and Sullivan 1979), and from the image of one who has "been able to develop a phenomenological analysis of subjective experience to which everything else can be tied" (Geertz 1960:239) - in other words, the mystical Javanese - it will pay perhaps to explore rasa a little pedantically, in order to ascertain the specific spheres it is used in, rather than attempt to find one or two catch-all covering glosses for it. This will then make for fluency and understanding in subsequent sections which refer to rasa.

The generalised cultural aestheticism which Geertz gives to rasa has been resituated in Zoetmulder's analysis of Old Javanese literature which is now an indispensable text for historical and contemporary Javanese perspectives (1974:173).[18] Mulder has treated rasa as "intuitive inner feeling" (1978:15), and in a similar vein, Reksosusilo and Magnis Suseno have spoken of the batin or hati nurani as conscience and the rasa as the voice of this conscience, relationally if not identically (1983:18, 132). Hardjowirogo has incorporated analytical remarks about rasa with a wry comment about Javanese 'humanism', giving a neat warning to ethnographers (by implication) not to confuse discourse with imminent action:

> While the Javanese in general like to speak about humanism, this sense (rasa) of humanism is more manifest in sweet words than in a life style lived in such a way as to embody the experience in concrete form so as to relieve the suffering and reduce the obstacles of the people.[19]

Philosophically, rasa partakes of systems which, depending on references and orientations, inflect it differently (see below). In general, the implication of these usages is that to explain rasa is to explain the metaphysical problems and presuppositions for which it is being used as a signal or substitute.[20] As noted in Chapter VI, the theme of the inseparability of object and attribute and also the consciousness of that inseparability is a recurrent one which will be returned to presently. For now, one might notice that according to Sĕrat Wĕdhatama, rasa is the final stage in a progress through the body (raga), thought (cipta), and spirit (jiwa). Sĕrat Cĕnthini, however, gives rasa as the third level, the relation with God, and a commentator here points out that rasa in this case does not mean feeling or sentiment (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusila 1983:136, Note 42).

At this point a simple list expressing past and present uses and cognates may be of use.

Rāsa (Skt): 'sap, juice', etc., not to be confused with ràsa: 'noise, uproar, rustic dance, especially of Kṛishṇa and the Gopīs'; rāsaka is also a kind of dance (Monier-Williams 1976:869, 879).

O.J. uses of rasa: (1) 'sap, juice, taste, flavour': (2) 'feeling, opinion, intention'; (3) 'the essential of st. (essential content, substance, meaning, purport)';[21] (4) 'how something is, (real - disposition or condition';[22] (5) 'so to speak, as if, as it were'; (6) 'in the form of (viz. a part, kind of poetry or writings)'; (7) 'mercury' (Zoetmulder 1982).

Cognates include the following: rasa-rasa: see (4) and (5) above; (m)rasa: (1) 'having taste; tasty, savoury; pleasant, agreeable, being a good (or the best) thing'; (2) 'feeling (=angrasa'); arasa-rasa:

'thinking over, taking to heart, worrying; angrasa-rasa, rumasa, karasa, pangrasa: 'to feel, taste, savour enjoy; to think over, reflect on, be conscious of'; rumasa-rasa, rinasa-rasa: 'to think over, reflect'; angrase, anrasani, rinasan: 'to taste, feel, enjoy; to think over, reflect on, judge'; rinasa-rasani, rinasa-rasan: idem (perhaps with greater intensity); pangrasa: 'means of (seat of) feeling or taste'; ararasan: 'to exchange views, discuss'; rasābhyantara (Skt): 'the inner aspects (the depths) of the rasa, the secrets of the rasa, the pleasures of love?'; rasapiṇda (Skt): 'the totality of feeling'; rasapradhāna (Skt): 'having as its chief taste or feeling' (Zoetmulder 1982).

This should be sufficient indication of the scope of rasa in O.J., and its morphological inflections which include consciousness, discrimination, and as such give stronger grounds for questioning rasa as an affective or aesthetic perceptuity which may be said to stand in contrast to intellecting perceptivities.[23] Modern usage also supports this, showing rasa also to be a sense-generating faculty as well as just a sensation-receiving one.[24] One might also note the distinction between the rasa of the body and the rasa of the heart (Gonda 1952:158), though, as will be seen below, there can be more than this. Uhlenbeck, who devotes an entire paper to the subject of rasa, glosses it as 'taste, feeling, inner experience, deepest meaning, essence' (1968). Among cognates he discusses might be noted krasan: 'to feel at home; to relish a thing, to feel at ease, to become familiar with'; rumangsa: 'to recognise, perceive, realise'; ngrasani: 'to slander discuss' (1968:165, 171 and 173). The connection between speech and gossip and rasa is a suggestive one, but Uhlenbeck questions whether this is a true morphological relation or not. However, abuse of homonymy is a failing among all theoreticians and nations.

Among cognates of rasa in a grammar compiled by Jesuits in krama with glosses in English, we might note the following: pangraos: 'feeling'; rumaos: 'to sense (with instinct - this is contrasted with ngĕrtos: 'to know with the intellect')'; ngraosi: 'gossip (bad)': raos-pangraos: 'more inner feeling, deeper and intense'; raos/rumaosing manah: 'less deep'; suraos: 'meaning, content' (Giri Sonto, n.d.).

It is clear that one's project or lexicographical preferences will bear on rasa, and the extent to which it is framed as a symptom of 'the Other'. One might consider it more as a catch-phrase, a reference which is taken for granted, which serves to block off rather than generate questions which might otherwise come up, in the same way as the English 'mind', 'common sense'. Most users of the term spoke of it collusively rather than with any definitive sense, and one could say that it is used so insistently precisely because of its lack of semantic edge. For example in a discussion of why in the shadow play the Javanese version does not have all five Pandhawas married to one wife, which is the case in India, people said that there were objections to polyandry on the grounds of rasa and tatakrama. In differentiating the dance style of Yogyakarta from that of Surakarta, it was said that "Cara-cara mriki tatacara raos utama", which can only be paraphrased as "the way of doing things here is to deal with rasa". This was said also in connection of where the difficulty of dance lay, i.e. not in the execution of the movements only. Given a statement like this, one can only do what other Javanese would do: make a behaviourally evident sign of approval by nodding, making sounds of approval, or taking up the point in a manner appropriate to the discourse - which is not to ask "What do you mean by that?" - the type of statement classed by Jakobson

as a metalingual function (1978). Indeed, the use of rasa comes closer to a poetic function, its lack of definition reflecting a lack of light self-entailing definitions. One should remember that in Java the muting of one's own dissenting opinion is highly valued; for this reason, open terms such as rasa help everyone to behave according to this principle. One might also remember the question of 'shared meaning' in Western discourses, which leads to the suggestion that key concepts or core vocabularies might be understood to have significance by a negative capability, to close off discourse rather than raise questions. This may be compared to a similar operation in the field of myth (see Cohen 1969). A recent study on rasa drawing material from various kěbatinan groups also tends to this view: the "repetition of formulae within ordinary social discourse is a way of avoiding 'meaning'" (Stange 1984:134). Such resources then might be considered more in terms of foreclosure than disclosure of meaning. When rasa is used in an analytical system, it tends both to define and be defined by that system: something which may be understood to occur only by virtue of its own essential (sic) absence of meaning in the semantic sense.

One might note in this connection that the role of rasa to a quietist fatalism comprising the triad of trima, sabar and ikhlas (acceptance, patience and emotional flatness),[25] in which the concern with rasa becomes spiritualised so as to feel nothing (Geertz 1960:240) may be challenged. The triad could be equally glossed as stoicism, lack of over-reactiveness and sincerity, resulting in a spirit of whole-heartedness (tulus-ikhlas) which is contracted locally with self-interest (pamrih: this term will turn up later). It is important to note that the condition of tĕntrĕm 'peace, harmony' was rejected by informants as

being ideally a straight line with all movement flattened out: a regular zigzag was drawn to represent this condition, the emphasis being on regularity and measure, rather than flatness. (The Western line was drawn with irregular zigzags!!) As will be shown in the next chapter, the ethos of fatalism (pasrah: surrender) may be replaced by one of rebellion with no change in the formula. Rasa, again, is used not because it contains the key to a culture, but because it allows the possibility of the impossible and the contradictory without discourse or action becoming paralysed by imponderables. Whether or not there is a connection between this and the tendency to break down boundaries between imminence and immanence cannot be resolved here. One might simply ponder whether the question of key concepts is the appropriate one to be seeking to resolve, or whether it is discursive formations, where meaning is out of its depth, that should be of methodological and analytical priority.

(iv) Perception and Knowledge: Grounds and Dispersals

> Dance is the shadow of the moving of your mind
> (Pak Yu).

The person and the rasa having been discussed with somewhat open-ended results, it is time to consider further presuppositions to clarify what is understood by the act of dancing. This present section will anticipate a further section, and should be taken as a provisional version of it.

It might have been noticed that rasa could be understood to take up the sense of 'intuition' which was argued above not to be part of naluri. Bearing in mind the theme of education, and the lair-batin axis, we shall tend towards the path of the inner here (compensating

in the next chapter with lair concerns), and lead to a discussion in the next section of one particular perspective on Yogyakartan dance, after which the question of knowledge will be returned to again.

As Javanese tend to assume that a Westerner is already too much oriented to rationality (B.I. rasio) - one local philosopher giving a cameo of East and West in terms of the Buddha and Rodin's Thinker (Ciptoprawiro 1983:Appendix 4) - the kind of information they tend to give or err towards is designed to compensate for this imbalance. Westerners are enjoined not to think too much, and, on being seen to spend time rushing around from one person to the next taking notes, not to listen too much to what people say, but instead to follow one's own heart (ati = 'liver') and learn from observing one's surroundings (alam). The point to be made here is that if an excess of intuitively-framed rasa flaws ethnography, then an excess of rationally-predicated Western style mars Javanese perspectives on many foreigners.

In view of this expectation, and the allure of the'Other'which may snarl up methodological styles when in the field (as suggested in the Introduction to this study), in Java the biggest snare is the subject of ngelmu kĕbatinan. Usually glossed as 'mysticism', this comprises a heterogeneous assembly of groups and sects which dabble in idiosyncratic psychologies and psycho-techniques feeding from sources as diverse as Theosophy, Vedanta, Sufism, Confucianism, and Christian mysticisms (see Subagyo 1976:129; he lists fifty-two separate organisations in Yogyakarta existing between 1952 and 1957). Such organisations sprang up following independence for the most part, but their association with undesirable political groups in the 1960s and 1970s has resulted in a recent alteration of identifications (de Jong 1976:16). Kĕbatinan

is now officially 'kepercayaan' (B.I. 'beliefs', but see Chapter V, Footnote 62) under the auspices of the PDK, and as such differentiated from religion (agama) and its ministry.

The principles of kĕbatinan are difficult to generalise, but it should be mentioned here that self-improving austerities such as fasting, physical endurance, different meditative practices and so forth, form one aspect. Given the emphasis on kĕbatinan in the literature, it seemed important to ascertain what dance's relation to it could be, particularly in view of the idea of dance as being educational in the broad sense, a kind of inner training, as kĕbatinan is.

Materials suggesting this might be the case include Zoetmulder's discussion of the kakawin poetic form as yantra in Old Javanese courts, suggesting that dance forms might possibly have equivalent identifications today (1974:181-5). Van Lelyveld has understood in various practices, such as the use of the salutation, offerings of flowers, and yellow body paint (boreh), vestiges of Indian religious practices (1931:36). While the use of offerings still continues in palace performances (chicken blood and rice cones are offered to the big gong at Mauludan; incense is burned during performances), lack of religious identifications with regard to dance movements suggests that the spiritual status of dance is something which should not be taken for granted.[26]

It turned out that people were keen to differentiate dancing from ilmu kĕbatinan in most cases: "Dance is a kĕbatinan art (seni B.I.), not a kĕbatinan method (ilmu B.I. = ngelmu)" (Suryobrongto 1982); it was said that the martial arts were closer to ilmu kĕbatinan than dancing, as these arts were devoted to the acquisition of something which could be used directly to affect others, in this case physical

invulnerability and the control of the fighting opponent (see below for further ideas about goals). The shadow play is also associated with kĕbatinan, which draws from it many of its illustrations.[27] In dance, the Yogyakartan Wayang Wong still requires offerings to be made to the costume of Bathara Guru, when the dancer of this role also used to be made up in isolation, though these are much smaller than in former times. In Surakarta, dancers fast before the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang performance, and this and the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang required that male dancers fast and that female dancers be pure (in the sense of not menstruating) for performance. Some informants, such as the one who provided the epigram for this section, used spiritual idioms to interpret dance forms, for example the Golek: "It is a strong ambition...the moving of the mind...a prayer to God". Many pointed out that dance should be understood as prayer or worship as well as show, but it would be wrong to say without qualifications of some theological complexity that dance in Yogyakarta today is spiritual and religious.

Questions concerning the dance as mystical (mistis B.I.) were usually replied to in the negative; some discussion of this in connection with the ideology of palace dancing as different has already been provided. The response, however, revealed some curious ideas about mysticism and kĕbatinan: "Mystical means unconscious (tidak sadar B.I.), dancing isn't (yet) mystical, it is still aware, it is between aware and not aware, what's the Javanese for that? Oh yes, sĕmĕdhi (contemplation), you can still see, but you don't see the performers".[28] In view of this version of 'mystical', kĕbatinan was classed as "religion, not mysticism" (which contrasts with other views, see above), mysticism being reserved for the trance in dancing such as Jathilan, or for other

abnormal states (see below). In a more predictable vein, dance was denied to be religious by someone who claimed that "Religion does not affect your behaviour". At the level of realisation, though, as has already been shown, it is also understood to affect one's behaviour.

Questions concerning the rasa of the dancer elicited answers which would appear, however, not to exclude the spiritual (in general Western terms), "When I first studied dance, I was taught first to concentrate on compassion for mankind; then I had to dance and rasa that".[29] On another occasion, this informant's patron added to this: "Yes, kěbatinan isn't mystical; it is about man and God, and man reflecting God. But Joged Mataram (his dance philosophy) and kěbatinan are both about kasěmpurnaan ('perfection, purity, completion'); they train the spirit (jiwa). So Joged Mataram is a balance between rasa and lair, an education of rasa" (pendidikan rasa B.I.). One should note here that many put forward the educative principles of Taman Siswa, to teach respect to (1) God; (2) parents; (3) older siblings; and (4) teachers.

Dancing thus incorporates the value of extending one's compassion, encapsulated in the saying "Heart without edges" (Cěplong (=ati) bělong tanpa pinggiran: literally, 'the trench of the irrigation channel is without edges'). Once again one may note the breaking-down of boundaries, characteristic of batin, inscribed discourse, though as is shown, there may be differentiations between elements, such as the kinds of spirituality. While dance may be viewed as not-religious and not-mystical, it is a batin art, if not a batin technique.

In order to endorse this perspective, it is useful to turn to terminologies of the 'inner' and their relative seriality, and also to support the idea of the lack of essentiality in terms such as jiwa

(spirit), suksma (spirit/psyche/divine/immanent principle) and their relation to rasa.[30] The following, taken from different kebatinan systems, may serve as illustrations: from Sumarah: roh (spirit) - sanubari ('heart')[31] - quolbu ('heart': Arabic) - masjid-al-haram (the mosque in Mecca) - baytullah (see Chapter V) - budi ('mind', 'disposition', but see below) - nur (light) - hidup (life); from Mangunsudarmo: pancaindera (the five senses) - jasmani (body) - hawa (breath) - benih (clear) - cahaya (beam); the nineteenth-century Serat Wirid (Ranggawarsito 1954): jasad (body) - akal (intelligence, ego) - nafsu (breath, desire) - roh (soul) - sir (=rasa) - nur (light) - khayu (life) - dhat (element); from the bio-spiritual treatise Alam Pikiran by Dr. Paryono: radium-thorium-uranium-manasukma (soul)- budi ('mind' 'disposition', etc.) - nur (soul) - ilahy (divinity).[32] This last term, glossed as "spirit of relation", also supports the relativised view of the body, the "body being shaped according to the will of this spirit of relation" (badan dapat dibentuk menurut kehendak roh ilahi) in the version according to Pangestu (de Jong 1976:14).

Terms such as ati, jiwa, and suksma or atma, are often used loosely to indicate or coincide with batin, itself something of an escape word, and largely under-determined.[33] One might note here that differentiation between roh as soul and jiwa as spirit in terms of separability from the body after death, varied according to informant exposure to doctrine: in one case, questions concerning this and destination after death were squashed with a curt, "Into the ground!"

The complexities of the above systems may be complemented with a final illustration provided by an informant in Yogyakarta who worked along lines of economy rather than proliferation. This also serves

to say more about the relation of the rasa to the jiwa. In this model the jiwa or batin, used synonymously, was the largest container or parameter, understood to be the same as rasa when rasa is totale (B.I.): the divisibility of rasa in metaphysical discourses has already been noted. Atma here is also rasa, but smaller than the jiwa, forming part of its contents (isi B.I.). The jiwa or batin thus consists of three elements: the budi (in this case explained as rasa); cipta (here explained as pikir B.I. 'thoughts', and rasa), and finally, an element having different names depending on the identifications and references of the system: atma or sukma (Skt); roh (Arabic), nyawa (Jav.); the informant did not explain this term at the time, although later he did have occasion to discuss another related concept, prana (see below).

One might note that while a dichotomous structure such as lair-batin tends to be contrastive, triads suggest similarity and even synonymity, hence the difficulty of establishing clear general translations of such series. It is also important to note that under such conditions, rasa proliferates in its inflection with regard both to its 'references' and the presuppositions which generate these, which may also be linked to the formal numerical classifications already discussed. The four-fold grouping also has a particular thematic implication. However, before turning to this, more needs to be said about spirit (jiwa).

Jiwa is used loosely to signify 'spirit' in the sense of 'ethos', or even 'action', or the preconditions for action. One example of the palace jiwa is a saying, "Sĕdumuk bathuk sĕnyari bumi", explained by informants as "To value yourself you must be ready to die". The militaristic ethos (jiwa) of the Yogyakartan palace style has already

been noted. However, it is pertinent to present concerns to remember certain observations relating to this and the dancing self. Female dancers playing soldiers in Bĕksan duets or in Wayang Wong are understood to have the jiwa of a soldier, which was distinguished from their rasa which was described as being 'alus': the non-natural refinement, the over-arching culturised 'naturalness' implied in Javanese ideas about action and manner. It should also be noted here that while in general military codes are couched in an ethic of chivalry (satriya), the dominant theme being self-control,[34] some informants reckoned that such military dances can be understood as cathartic. This is surprising in view of ideas about expression and action which will be explored presently, but it is not excluded from the Javanese interpretive sphere. A more usual formulation links the militaristic mode to a disciplining quality: the control of elbows so as not to show the armpits is a discipline to do with Javanese custom (adat jawi), not Islam. The links between this and the circumstances of Yogyakarta's foundations will be discussed in the next chapter. Following from this view of dancing, which of course may be understood as having an educational basis, rather than having a cathartic action, it was maintained that strong characters should be angry - but angry from a jiwa which is, again, alus.[35] Before considering the implications of this for what expression might be in Yogyakartan dance, then, the drift of the discussion so far may be unified in the case it has been leading up to: Prince Suryobrongto's formulation of Yogyakartan dance in terms of a system which he calls Joged Mataram, 'the Mataram dance' (in an exceptional use of the term joged: for this is about ideals and palace-derived practices). It also rests on the injunction to consider the spirit (jiwa) rather than the rules, already noted.

(v) Joged Mataram

The following formulation, circulated in print through the efforts of the late Prince Suryobrongto,[36] has been handed down to him by his late uncle, Prince Brongtodiningrat, in his nephew's eyes the last ĕmpu (master, expert) of dance, who himself received it from another ĕmpu in the palace. Gusti Suryobrongto also disclaimed that he had taken on the role of ĕmpu, in correct Javanese fashion. It should be clear that his writings should not be taken as generally representative. Firstly, not everyone agrees with his views (see next chapter). And secondly, he himself acknowledged a degree of Dutch influence on his viewpoint.[37]

The theme of Joged Mataram is educative: it helps to form a person civilised according to the standards of the palace. The person resulting will be bĕbuden, or tiyang budi (often connected to the person model as 'mind'), and so, 'a person having budaya (civilisation);[38] as noted above, it is an education for or of the rasa. Related to budi is the phrase budi pĕkĕrti; informants suggested this covers ethics and morals. Others said that pĕkĕrti is 'movements' (gerak B.I.), and that in dance, and in actions in general, budi pĕkĕrti is "movements in the rasa which are light but which go deep" (gerak dalam rasa yang ringan sampai dalam B.I.). It was reiterated by Prince Suryobrongto and his circle that in dance, movements become mechanically right once a dancer's rasa is right. One of his clients also suggested that movements in dance are improved by rasa (instinct) fed by prana, which he said was 'like electricity', which is a property of the jiwa, leaves the body at dĕath, and which makes the budi pĕkĕrti become alus (see also Gonda 1952:192-3). This kind of statement seems to epitomise a discourse which by using open-ended

terms closes in on any possible purchase which would allow the articulation of dissent: except by the utterance of rival formulae.

Ilmu (knowledge of) Joged Mataram has four elements which support a philosophy (filsafat):

1. Sĕwiji: total concentration which does not lead to any strain on the spirit (jiwa, here used in the individual sense).
2. Grĕgĕd: dynamic, élan, passion (semangat B.I.), "the fire which kindles the spirit of a person so that it cannot be disregarded, and which compels a tenacity which permits the channelling of this energy in a proper (wajar B.I.) direction: in other words, the dancer strengthens all of his or her emotions in order to avoid unseemly (kasar) behaviour".
3. Sĕngguh: self-confidence, believing (pĕrcaya) in oneself without becoming proud or arrogant.
4. Ora mingkuh: without weakness or spirit or fear of facing difficulties; and taking full responsibility (tanggung jawab) (Suryobrongto 1976:22-3).

Though originating with reference to Yogyakartan dance, this four-part formula is also used as a model for life ("concentrating on one's goal with determination, having a fixed intention, self-confidence, and perseverence"), and worship ("always remember God (Allah), direct all energies to His path, take pride in being under His will, and in the face of all difficulties keep faith with Him") (1976:22-3). In conversation the Prince added that the formula could also be used on Surakartan dance, and any other dance. The final goal is perfection or purity of life

(urip sĕmpurna). One might note the versatility of this basis system. Sense-making and linkages take precedence over categorisation and standardisation, interpretive force (motivate by ideals or convictions) generating reiteration and application away from the original point of reference. Each area thus becomes constituted not for itself, but immanently, for everything (as will be argued further below).

Conversations supplemented the somewhat terse presentation in print (in Indonesian). Sĕwiji is the first practical element in training, it is the initial feel for the movements; another dancer added that this aspect is accessible to anyone, not just Javanese. Grĕgĕd and sĕngguh are identified by a perceptive teacher, and need to be 'placed' (dipunmapanakĕn) by concentration (sĕwiji) in order to achieve the effect of kalĕrĕsan; correctness in performance, a dancer uses the music and spoken introduction (kandha) to muster sĕwiji and thus sĕngguh. Without this, grĕgĕd may be excessive, and result, lacking adequate cultural mediation, in a negative excess of naturalness, and thus be kasar; it needs to be made kĕncĕng, 'stiffened', but in the sense of concentrated; the tense dynamic of Balinese dancing was spoken of as a different kind of kĕncĕng from that of the Yogyakartan style. One might notice here an extension of the principle of 'flowing water': energies need to be harnessed and channelled. The final element, ora mingkuh was explained with reference to a number of anecdotes about the tenacity of dancers in the face of such hazards as ants and other insects crawling up one's nose, or the arrival of deep rain-water when holding a kneeling position during performance; bees and wasps; tables falling on one (food in HBVIII's reign being served to special guests by the stage which was lower than the guests); determination in the face of illness: as in the case of his

younger brother Prince Pujakoesoema, who managed to overcome the symptoms of malaria in order to fulfil his role (passing out when safely back in the 'box' (kothak) where dancers made their entrances and exits), or a favourite about a man who nearly went blind trying to 'sharpen' his gaze. These anecdotes also show some ideas of the jiwa of the Yogyakartan style. Once the four elements are in a correct combination (in the teacher's view), then the rasa of the dancer is also correct, and he or she will feel able (sagah) to perform, fulfilling the final condition of ora mingkuh.

It should be remarked here that Prince Suryobrongto's remarks were mostly illustrated with reference to Wayang Wong; but Joged Mataram also applies to other forms, including Bĕdhaya and Srimpi. Indeed, the matter of characterisation in these forms, their wirasa, is generally held to be harder (in these Putri modes) than in the male ones, and females having more innate alus-ness than men, more subtle differentiations can be made. These are often in terms of the elements above: thus, in Bĕdhaya, Batak is usually supposed to bring out the sĕngguh in her dancing, while Endhel has to stress grĕgĕd.

The state of feeling able to dance entails therefore a degree of self-understanding and sense of one's potential and one's limits, together with a certainty and resolution of spirit (mantĕp). This in turn is associated with a state which is referred to as madĕp - explained as being like where the coffee grounds should be when you start to drink from your glass - in relation to God. This was put in other terms also: the dancer should be in place (mapan), which is in contemplation (sĕmĕdhi), which is near to God.[39] It will be seen below that although this may sound 'spiritual', it has a different implication from the ilmu kĕbatinan, from which dance is differentiated as a seni kĕbatinan.

One effect of mastering Joged Mataram is to achieve the quality of alus-ness already discussed, where movement looks 'natural', but which presupposes complex mediation, by means of training and education. It has already been noted that the ideology of Yogyakartan dance denies that such dance can be unmediated and natural (kasar). In this sense, then, alus, rather than 'refined', is more about the manifestation of control and dissimulation of this control: it is thus doubly unnatural. According to senior dance teachers, alus is a matter of measure (rhythm: wirama), and not a mimsy prettiness which younger students of dance often understand it as.[40] It is also not merely contrasted with kasar as ethnography might suggest. A stock response from students of the secondary dance academy on the difference between Yogyakartan and Surakartan dance styles was "Yogyakarta is alus, Surakarta is linca (lively)". In Yogyakartan dancing this last term is reserved for the Golek form, already spoken of as being on the boundary of adiluhung forms proper to the palace.

Dance done properly is described not as alus but luwĕs - pleasing: alus is thus a means, or rather a way, of summing up the means and the implied values which presuppose the way, to achieve a certain effect: luwĕs is thus more specific than alus, and also the result of a chain of presuppositions. One might notice here that the attribution of alus is quite likely to be of the ex post facto type, which may serve to generate quasi-explanations of the individual as tutored (also encompassed in alus) and thereby a microcosm of the conceptually ordered universe as macrocosm. There are other related evaluations for people, such as jĕtmika, 'polite behaviour', linked by informants to solah tingkah, solah bawa and trapsila (see Chapter V). This notion of ordering entailed in alus is a sign of

the mutually and internally reinforcing effect of such formulations, the fact of that order being a motivator to ideas such as 'polish', 'refinement' and the other physico-tactile synonyms which arise. This leads me to question the statement that "...dance, which goes nowhere, [is] the model of the poetic act" (Ricoeur 1977:224, on Valéry).[41] Taking up the notion of poetic in Jakobson's sense, as aspectual rather than categorical or generic, the formal order which Valery suggests it shares with dance, may be viewed differently, and as the argument in the next chapter will show, may be an aspect of systems which breach the dichotomy of actual and ideal, aspiring to progress while at the same time dissimulating the actuality of change, the fact of deficiency or inadequacy, and the possibility of difference.[42] Just as terms for the inner and its actions (such as rasa) have been viewed as inherently difficult to translate, so too has alus.

Dancing which does not come off is described in a number of ways: coquettish (ronggeh, kěnés); stiff (keder), clumsy (kidhung), dirty (rěgěd); saltless (kěndho); empty (wělu), flat (cěmplang), and so forth (Suryobrongto 1981:103). This is often with regard to the rasa and jiwa of the dancing, but is also generalised by extension into a critique of a person and his or her behaviour: "That person doesn't understand measure" (Wong iku ora ngěrti wirama) (see also Suryobrongto 1970:11). In these terms, successful dance, like successful living, is evaluated in terms of time (measure) and space (mapan). Alus is a by-product of this, after the event, not causal.

This is important to an understanding of how the 'right' effect is achieved. One cannot try to be alus, this is the equivalent of forcing a facial expression in dance: it is not polatan, expression achieved

through muscular action, but pasĕmon, the reflection of the dancer's jiwa, of which more will be said below. For this reason, alus is a result of conditions, not effort, and may be understood as an aspect of batin and rasa: to put on alus behaviour is to be operating in the world of lair, and may be explained by the Javanese as being badly motivated, i.e., an action which is classed as pamrih. Informants in due course made statements to the effect that people who seem kasar at first may have jiwa ('spirit') alus, and vice versa; "look at some of the kraton people!"

This term should be explained now, as it is an important word used in relation to kinds of action, which will be considered in the abstract later in this chapter, and in practical terms in the next one. It is the negative threat to rukun, and most Javanese use it in a critical sense, expressed in the well-known saying "Rame ing gawe sĕpi ing pamrih", equivalent to "Busy hands, a quiet mind" which ties in with the common Javanese injunction to Westerners, "Don't think so much!" Although the most general use of pamrih has the sense of 'self-interest', 'ulterior motives', or 'expectations', the term also has the more neutral meaning of 'intention'(maksud), which leads to implications for models of action (see below).[43]

In the case of dance, intentionality in a worldly sense, i.e. to be a successful dancer, as already said, is not the goal according to Joged Mataram. The goal according to Prince Surybrongto, is to achieve "a balance between rasa and lair" (personal communication). Another dancer, Wisnu Wardhana, expressed this as manukma: the fusion of the physique and the batin.[44] As well as misunderstanding the sense of alus, dancers of the younger generations may also lack sincerity (ikhlas)

and seek fame and wealth, concerns which senior idealists argue reflect in the rasa of their dancing. In Joged Mataram, a dancer never believes he or she has succeeded, and continues to train as if perfection (kasempurnaan) was yet to be achieved. Pamrih, therefore, is understood to damage a dancer as much as a reputation.

Responses in the survey cited above to the effect that the rasa during dancing was one of pleasure at being looked at, elicited a cry of dismay from Prince Suryobrongto; the ethnographer was equally unnerved by the remark of a young English tourist at a Sunday palace practice that he preferred female dancing because, "When you get bored you can watch the girls - they have such elegant shapes!" The ideal of Javanese dance, as in India, is to watch the dance, not the dancer. Sexuality is here excluded, or dissimulated, as already suggested in Chapter V .[45] In spite of the republicanisation of palace dancing, the older generations still have a strong feeling for this understanding of dance in relation to showing-off.

The seemingly graceful gentle movements in female dance have already been spoken of as strenuous; this may be shown in perspiration, but should not be evident in any other way. Only as one moves along the scale of dance modes to the big, dangerous, natural (uncivilised) roles does effort become revealed in the movements. These, however, still count as dancing, not acting. Let us now consider how this may be, and what it says about expression in Yogyakartan dancing. It should be remembered here that forms are understood by locals as being on a continuum ranging from the dramatic to the abstract.

It is clear that what in Western circles it might be good to show - emotions, passions, individuality - in Java is not. Such aspects

should be tamed, or channelled, rather than unleashed upon the world of others. To understand a training which leads to this as repressive and restrictive of the individual daemon is, however, a perspective which denies the Javanese rationale which lies behind Joged Mataram, although not the most extreme 'Javanism'. In these terms, it is not deprivation but the ability to restrain and master oneself - inner forces and energies - so as not to be mastered by them. Most Javanese see Westerners as driven by their own desires and 'pamrih' (here 'ego'), leaving themselves no space to cultivate rasa and awareness in the rush to think, consume, and produce.

Occasions for 'self-expression', verbal comedy and satire are dislocated from directed interaction. In the dance forms, animals were spoken of as 'acting, not dancing' - tigers and so forth; garudha birds (griffins) and monkeys, however, do have their own dance styles, they are not miming, which is what tigers do in Wayang Wong. Once again, this is dangerously close to the cavorting of the entranced horse dancers in Jathilan, and to be excluded from the palace ethos. Bad dancing was termed 'jogedan' by Prince Suryobrongto, with a caveat that good dancing (bĕksa) may also be termed 'anjoged' (1976:20). Banyol refers to a joking act, and tandhak, sometimes used like bĕksa in historical references, is not so much dancing in the high sense as capering, cutting a figure, with comical aspects (though it sometimes means 'tledhek': see Chapter V).

While humour depends on indirection in relation to codes, dance expression has another form of obliqueness, which is very different from the Western idea of expression as showing or bringing out: to show, even in an indirected way, in Java tends to be done in a style which is

humorous, which suggests that certain styles of action have humorous entailments, which will be returned to soon: effort is funny.

Javanese expression, as the discussion about alus may have suggested, is not about showing effort: the young dancers who try to please are operating in the lair world and the one of form (rupa, wujud), and will probably only end up inflaming the passions (hawa nafsu) rather than generating the kind of expressive communication which is understood among older dancers to be proper. The dancer, according to Joged Mataram, has a jiwa which is in a state of contemplation (sĕmĕdhi), he or she feels nothing (mbotĕn kraos punapa). This is not, however, a state of emptiness (kosong-blong): rather, the dance is "empty but full" (kosong nanging pĕpak). We should remember that this state is carefully qualified in order not to suggest possession. Indeed, as will be explained, to be empty is to be at risk of being possessed. At the same time, Prince Suryobrongto and his companions did say that there is an element of trance or forgetting in that the dancer loses his social inhibitions, he is no longer constrained about rank ("tidak malu lagi tentang pangkat" B.I.). While one sees one's fellow-dancers and the pillars in the building (so one does not bump into them), neither these nor the audience interfere with the dancer's concentration - presuming one's application of Joged Mataram is right. The successful dancer in performance is no longer trying, the movements are right automatically, he or she is absorbed, the face reflecting this absorption fitting the character. In the case of Bĕdhaya and Srimpi the pasĕmon (facial expression) should be 'clear' (padang); that of 'strong' characters should be 'sharp' (landhĕp). Also, however difficult and also painful dance training and performance can be, it was described as light by

comparison to the ascetic practices required by various kĕbatinan schools, which may be aimed at the acquisition of special powers, while dance is aimed at perfection (kasĕmpurnaan) or in Sufi terminology, Insan Kamil, 'Perfect Man'; as one person put it, the first may affect others practically, the second does not, it is a personal thing.

The assertion of this special dance state did raise certain problems for how the dancer in Wayang Wong is understood to fulfil his role; at one point informants did seem to be suggesting that there was a kind of possession of the dancer's jiwa by that of the role being danced. However, how the dancer 'sits' (lĕnggah) in the character (watak) portrayed is a matter of rasa. It turned out that when Prince Suryobrongto spoke of "becoming a puppet" (dados ringgit), or of "losing one's sense of human-ness" (rasa manusiawi B.I.), his meaning, as he later explained, was not loss of self or of activated consciousness, but the loss of weaknesses such as cowardice, fear and so forth, and their replacement with the heroic qualities of the role danced (summed up in Joged Mataram as ora mingkuh). This has two aspects. The first is knowledge: to dance a role, one should have studied the shadow play, handled the puppet one is to dance, thought about its watak. In the Yogyakartan Wayang Wong tradition a person used to dance the same role for years. Prince Suryobrongto started off as Antarĕja, and then after two or three years, became a celebrated Gathotkaca. The second aspect is the embodiment of the role: manukma, as mentioned, is the union of physique and batin. From the batin perspective, one fills one's spirit with that of the puppet, one has to feel oneself as the puppet ("harus merasakan diri sebagai wayangya" B.I.); one also has to be familiar with the different mood-faces (wanda) of the puppet. However, and this

might seem to contradict the account of the dancer's ideal given above, people are also selected for roles because they have the right 'face' (wanda) or 'build' (dĕdĕg): they look the part. At the same time, we might remember the simple delineation between appearance and the inner does not hold here. A Javanese proverb, "Ndĕbog bosok", glossed as "rupane ala atine ala", "an ugly face, an ugly heart", illustrates what could be seen as a matter of simply physical determinism.

However, interpretations, as might be expected, do vary. As one informant put it, even if a bĕdhaya is not objectively very pretty (often the case), she will look beautiful in the dance if her spirit is good, altering the terms of the saying above to "A beautiful person [is one with] a fine spirit" (orang cantik jiwa bagus B.I.). This was also illustrated with reference to the man who had danced Gathotkaca before Prince Suryobrongto, who had physically been rather small for the part, but who, when dancing, succeeded in compensating for this lack at the lair level with the excellence of his rasa of the part, the bigness expressed in his jiwa.

This may resolve questions about appearance and reality with regard to perception and rasa. In this sphere of activity, at any rate, the object of rasa is not simply "nothing" (as suggested by Geertz), but rather complicated inner states. We might here remember the solitary dancer practising at night on his rock, vexing the Philosophy Faculty as to what the category 'dance' might be. It may perhaps be clearer now why this particular moment of practice should not be excluded from bĕksa, the balance between lair and rasa referred to above being to a large degree a matter not of individual expression, but of introspection embodied, with the audience, the receivers of the performance, as if by the way.

(vi) Knowing and Showing

> time is the measure
> not the attainment:
> time is the rhythm
> never the vision..(Ackerman 1984:Time Poem)

> Many people who confess to know
> Their power of sense already perfect
> Yet still don't know sense
> The sense of the sense
> So strive then to achieve it as far as you can
> In your own life (Sĕrat Wulang Reh).[46]

To take up systems mentioned above (Section iv), a common model of perception and knowledge, drawn from the Sĕrat Wĕdhatama, is in terms of the triad cipta-rasa-kĕrsa: 'creative thought, rasa in all senses, and the will or desiring faculty'. These are sometimes associated with the body (head, chest and stomach, respectively). The relationship between them is, predictably, described in terms of 'flowing water', again showing the concept here as being fluid and relative.[47] The conscient being, made up of elements which might be best viewed, as already suggested, as energies rather than parts, receives by means of the five senses (pañcadriya) from the lair world. Here too, the term alam, referred to previously, might be noted, which is less 'nature' than the world interpreted as ideal, often as 'the creation'. It thus presupposes order and ideology, but conceals this in a similar way to lair. Both terms, though given the sense of 'external', are contingent upon a perceptual apparatus which is constituted in ways which are part of the perspective of the 'inner'. To observe alam is also understood as a way of gaining knowledge. If the inner is, as one commentator has described it, "an eternal living-room in human beings", then the elements of the different terminological systems available may be understood as the furnishings and ways of moving

around the room, and the means to leave it and return to it by the operation of rasa.[48] Interference in how one 'sits' (lĕnggah) or is placed (mapan) vis-à-vis this inner room and the wider sphere of alam is most commonly spoken of as hawa nafsu: the wind of desire, which is overcome by contemplation (sĕmĕdhi), described in one image as 'closing the nine holes' (nutupi hawa sanga).[49] Another school of thought considers that only the 'bad' desires, motivated by pamrih (self-interest) should be repressed. A third view is that the rasa itself is an energy which inhibits arriving where one wishes to be.

Bearing in mind the danger of transferring assumptions, it may have been thought that much of the Javanese gist presented in the present chapter is little different from that of a British educationalist. However, there is a tendency in idiom to turn away from the notion of the active expressive individual to another option which is more conducive to lead to knowledge.

One should be careful about how one frames ideas of achieving "death in life" (mati sajroning urip) (de Jong 1976:27). If a Javanese embarks on a fast[49] in order to resolve a critical problem and seek coolness, where a Westerner would go into panicked action, it is not automatically 'irrational': the effects of both options in action may be equally successful. It is not that Javanese deny the passions: in the shadow play the one hundred Korawas outnumber the controlled or controlling five Pandhawas, and in a person, it is the Korawas which arise first, representing the heat of passions in a person. Where we in the West speak of stress, the Javanese speaks of heat: but while we continue in our pamrih-driven activities, the Javanese considers the means to prevent, not simply cure.[50]

Practices which lead to resolution (coolness, clarity, being in place: all idioms of result) are classed as tapa(brata), tirakat,[51] and sometimes sĕmĕdhi (though the gloss of 'contemplation' used in this study is inflected so as not to create an image of extraordinary practice). One cannot stress too much how the object of such practices, and thus how the practices themselves may be constituted analytically, are subject to variation - a variation which may be understood largely with reference to how much pamrih (ulterior motives) they are claimed to carry. For example, practices (unusually termed 'mbatinraga': batin and body) speak of the aim as clairvoyance (waskita) (Hardjowirogo 1983:90-3). This account is one which maximises the intentionality of the practice to achieve a certain effect which is manifest. This effect is often in terms of suprahuman capacities (flying, invulnerability, healing powers, magic)[52] which tend to be classed as attributes of the one who is sĕkti ('magically powerful', for now). However, in Yogyakarta today there is quite careful discrimination between not only practices but their motives which might more properly be relegated to the class of ilmu klenik 'black magic', which they contrast with what is true sĕkti, the counterpart of clairvoyance here being 'clarity' of the perceptions and rasa. Sĕkti may be seen as a bridge between batin and lair; but is not, according to informants, necessary to becoming a 'Perfect Man'. As the ascription of sĕkti is generally an attribute given to someone who is approved of for various reasons, more will have to be said on this subject in the next chapter. However, one might note that there is a sense in which pamrih here suggests a negative value being given to efforts, or action in an instrumental sense: one is more likely to hear adults in Java saying they "can't be bothered" to do something (Wah, aku wĕgah!) with the

courage of their own convictions, a phenomenon which might be understood as the bad side of this ethic of being chary of one's motivations and expectations. Modernist intellectual Takdir Alisjahbana reckons that if Indonesia is to modernise, it is pamrih which needs to be seen as a positive aspect of action (de Jong 1976:57). Where Geertz has phrased the question as "How is action possible, given compassion?" (1960:272), the question might be more properly put, in view of general attitudes noted in Yogyakarta, 'How is action possible, given the option of evading pamrih?' While the writing of a doctoral thesis may be classed as an act of grossest pamrih, it also raises questions about the status of the pursuit of knowledge, which, in view of the obliqueness of intention in Java, needs consideration here.

Important among terms for perceiving and apprehending[53] are eling (emut k.) 'to remember' and its cognates kelingan (kemutan k.) ibid. and ngeling-eling/ngemut-emut, 'to call to mind'. To remember is more than the simple entry into one's consciousness of a fact overlooked or stored away: to remember here is to become aware of, rippling out to the connotation of 'total awareness' - as in the case of Islamic dikr. The Javanese sometimes speak of awareness as "remembering one's own death" - as the next chapter will suggest, recurrent grave-visiting may be understood to act as a sort of spiritual consciousness-raising, in a concern which is part of the whence and whither of all created things (sangkan paraning dumadi).

Eling is also consciousness as a safety precaution. When one's head is empty or one is unaware (or absent-minded [sic]) one is quite likely to be possessed by spirits, wander off into the sea, or be carried off bodily (kalap) by extra-human agencies: in Yogyakarta Kangjêng Ratu

Kidul is commonly used to explain the circumstances of kalap.[54] On the subject of 'seeing spirits', informants reckoned that one was 'not conscious/aware' (sadar), not as if asleep nor in a faint, no; but everything is excluded except one thing, one is in a sort of daze. A story about events following the tragic suicide of a first-year ASTI student told at a gathering of the Kandha Waru group may serve to illustrate this idea of a state which is not eling:

> After Utami died, she regretted it, she was lonely where she was, and she kept coming back; one of her teachers was woken by her in the night, she wanted him to give her her examination, and he found himself banging on the door of one of the ASTI buildings in the middle of the night having driven there on his Vespa (scooter). The caretaker came and asked what he was doing there at that time of night, and he was surprised and confused and said "Is it night? I thought it was morning and that I had to give an examination". Later there was a ceremony at ASTI, and one of the teachers was wearing the clothing of an usher, and she became possessed, sitting by the rice-mountain just before it was cut, and started talking in Utami's voice. Utami must have identified the clothes, she would have been anusher on that day, you see.

On further questioning, the narrator revealed that the lady who had been possessed was in the habit of it, and that he didn't like taking her to performances of trance dances any more because of this; "Her head is often empty", he explained, "that's why they possess her". One might add that the story evinced all kinds of responses, including complete scepticism, particularly as to how the lecturer managed to drive on his scooter in the middle of the night to ASTI without being aware of it.

One might also notice here an image of non-emptiness reflected in the phrase 'mbathik manah': 'drawing a bathik design on the heart', meaning 'meditation' (Geertz 1960:287).

The self, then, is constituted by the act of remembering, stabilised in the loka of men, but susceptible to permeation, in moments of absent-mindedness, by spirits.

A Javanese commentator has written:

> From the objective non-personal world view, the key categories reality and certainty in the end have the sense of 'exact knowledge of reality'. These two categories are not much used in the world of Javanese experience. The understanding of 'objective reality' is only applied when we are faced with something which is objective and exact, for instance a garden where there is always an exact number of trees: if there are eight trees, and these can be counted as such, it means that there are certainly eight trees. But if the forces which confirm human life are not characterised objectively, but subjectively, for instance signs from spirits which have no exact characteristics, so they cannot be counted exactly - then there is no 'objective reality' which can be known with certainty and relied upon. So 'to seek certainty' in order to act 'in accord with objective reality' in the Javanese view has an extremely limited meaning.[55]

Should one feel inclined, along with Mulder (1978) to see this kind of statement as grounds for characterising the Javanese as non-instrumental symbolists, it might be pointed out that the charge of subjectivism can hardly be brought to bear convincingly, given the indigenous model of lair-batin which recognises that everything is not subjective - at least, no more than anywhere else. Frames for explanation or the preconditions for these frames have a lair or batin option, though it has here been suggested that one could argue the batin perspective to subsume the lair: the final chapter will, however, redress this tendency somewhat. A provisional expression of lair-batin perspectives may be found in Appendix 6.

In addition to this option, there is also a stratification of epistemological achievement, drawn from Islamic doctrine, where yakin

(from Ar. 'certainty') is given different levels: 'ilm-ul-yaqin: certainty by reasoning or inference; 'ain-ul-yaqin: seeing is believing; and haqq-ul-yaqin: the absolute truth, with no possibility of error of judgment (see Ali's commentary, Al-Quran, At Tagabun (64), 51). While these details may not be known, the Javanese are experts in qualifying specifically the limits of knowledge: as, for instance, in making plans for the near future. If certainty in Javanese philosophical discourse tends to be associated with finding the right place, it does not, however, entail the assertion that this kind of knowledge may be found: to be yakin or tĕmĕn in Java as often as not is a figure of speech. The extent to which speech and knowledge can be congruent is usually treated sceptically.

Popular speculation posits a four-stage structure of knowledge, deriving with some variations from Islamic terms. In Javanese these are "awam, tarekat, hakekat, and ma'rifat; given variation, one informant's own presentation of his understanding is given; using the much known image of the motorcycle:

> Awam: I am told there is a motorcycle, so I know by hearsay; but I don't see it, I just see the traces of the wheels in the dust. Tarekat: I try to behave well, or I accept this because of being told; but I still want to know more. Hakekat: I begin to see the motorcycle, parts of it, but I still don't understand what the parts are and how they connect. Ma'rifat: I see the motorcycle, and I also know how it works, what each part is for.[56]

He said that trying to explain ma'rifat was like trying to explain "the hotness of chillies": if you haven't experienced it, how can you know? Ideas about whether ma'rifat is imminent (as here) or immanent, vary. The general impression was that most tended to see it less as a kind of moksa, leaving one's body forever, than as rasa in its highest and

most sustained sense. However, a recent short-story collection by a writer known for his interest in Sufism closes with a piece about a Bĕdhaya dance which never ends; the dancers dance out of the building into the heavens, and for their parents left below, it is as if they never existed.[57] Coming at the end of the volume, this suggests one image of ma'rifat, vanishing but lasting forever.[58] In view of the Bĕdhaya's capacity to attract high matters to it, its appearance in this fable is not surprising. One should also note that there is a sense in Java of keeping knowledge till a fit time. There is a lesson to be derived from the fact of hidden-ness (as in the shadow play) (Zoetmulder 1971:87). Heretics who denied the need to go to the mosque (an 'awam' activity) were condemned not for their heresy, but for careless dissemination of their ideas.[59] The value placed upon measure, then, can be seen in the very form in which the release or imparting of knowledge takes. Allusions and sayings themselves may be understood as part of this system.

We should once more note the irrelevance here of the idea of 'dramatic worlds ' as "hypothetical (as if) constructs...as counter-factuals" (Elam 1980:98), mentioned in Chapter IV. The relation of things and attributes (sipat or sifat) is recognised locally as a problem of great difficulty; the intermediary nature of a thing may be grasped by its ciri (the Javanese term provided when I asked what B.I. 'identifikasi' would be), if not completely, in the hakekat sense above, these part-elements allowing associations to be made and new ones generated. These are neither objective nor subjective (lair, batin), but are caught in the interstices of this dichotomous rationale. While the activity of 'searching, arranging, doing' mĕtani, often used

of the meditative practices mentioned above as mĕtani rasa, does not necessarily result in certainty, although a condition of sĕngguh as defined in Joged Mataram, suggesting 'being in place', may be achieved; with regard to the more para-normal achievements of tapa, one may note that these could be understood as the expression of the fusion of the esoteric and exoteric dimensions of lair-batin, rather than their breakdown.[60] At the same time, the clear-seeing which in one sense has the immanence of Blake's 'cleansing of the doors of perception' to the external world (alam semesta B.I.) has a transcendental quality which is also understood to lead to and 'sustain the beautification of the world' (mĕmayu ayuning buwana). The theme is that of incorporation, not exclusion or optionality.

In this connection then, it is of interest to notice that the model of man in lair batin terms as a circle with a dot in the middle (Geertz 1960), finds less favour in Yogyakarta today, with a more dialectical fluidity being stressed. Some people draw spirals to demonstrate the lair-batin ratio; the most subtle geometry of the soul may be found in Tanoyo's double spiral as an illustration to Ranggawarsita's Sĕrat Hidayat Jati (1954:63).

Before proceeding to the final chapter which considers dance from the point of view of the audience and its producers, it is necessary to return to the opening texts and ask what is it that the dancer reflects in dancing? The discussion so far has yielded less clear-cut answers than systems of presuppositions which lie behind half-answers and comments generated by the questions asked of dance, and the points made about rasa, as with other important terms, show the problems in seeking stable senses in terms of reference. Local ideas about knowledge and

certainty also indicate that there is a discursive sensitivity (if not individual consciousness) of epistemological delicacies and the relation of language to experience. A formal resolution to my questions then may be provided from a seventeenth-century text:[61]

> Molana Magribi said, "To put it plainly, the mirror is the body, and he who mirrors himself is the spirit. The second who mirrors himself is called 'favour', i.e. the body, the favour received being the existence of two mirrors... the one who mirrors himself has the body for a mirror, the other who mirrors himself the spirit, that is to say, he is cultivating both body and spirit. Body and spirit go together; the spirit being the essential (i.e. vital) element of the body, it must be said that it mirrors itself in the body(?)..."

(vii) The Ins and Outs of Dance

To close this exploration, an event will be referred to which brings out the lines of fracture firstly for how dance is seen, and secondly for wider questions of ideology and the struggle to control identifications. The first will be considered here, the second will open the next chapter.

A seminar was held in Yogyakarta in which an eminent dance educationalist presented his views on Wayang Wong, Yogyakarta-style. His argument in brief was that this form reflects a 'feudal' (feodal B.I.).[62] context which is out of date and uninteresting to audiences today. Why, even in cinematic footage of Wayang Wong from the 1930s, the audience looks bored, impassive, and half-asleep. Interest in Yogyakartan-style dance in general is lacking, as evidenced by the absence of any entries for this style in the secondary-school-level dance contest (SMTA), all entries being for Surakartan-style of new creations, more attractive because more naturalistic and lively. Slides were shown to illustrate the points in the talk about unattractive features of Wayang Wong, such

as blocking and the way in which chairs are brought on and off stage, and contrasted with ones of experiments conducted at ASTI in dance drama (Sendratari) which owe much to the influence of the American choreographer, Martha Graham. Yogyakartan-style dance, in shorts, "fails to communicate" (kalah kommunicatif B.I.). What is needed is something which will attract the audience in the way observed at the Festival of Local Performance from all the Indonesian provinces held in Yogyakarta (23-26 February 1983), namely, modernisation. Although it was noticeable also that Yogyakarta's offering at the Festival, a Kethek Ogleng play,[63] was of very low standard.

This judgment fell on the ears of a full gathering of representatives from all dance factions in Yogyakarta, including the Prince who is second-in-command at the palace arts section; next to him was the popular Yogyakartan comedian already mentioned in this study. The talk was given in Indonesian, and had not only disregarded but had covertly attacked features of Javanese discourse such as empan-papan (sensitivity to situations). The response , however, was couched in this mode, and questions dissimulated the stiff constraint and discomfort (raos lingsem, kirang sekeca) which had settled upon the room, the young Prince looking particularly put out.

What redeemed this event from being simply a case of 'Javanese submissiveness' (in this instance to modernism of an Indonesian kind) into a case worth recording was the eruption of the comedian sitting to the Prince's left into a dramatic monologue of the kind discussed previously, all the more forceful for being in a seminar room, and also a good instance of the boundary between 'theatre' and 'the everyday' being crossed.

First he remonstrated with the speaker for his attempt to compare Wayang Wong with folk performances - as if they were the same kind of thing! He added that in Surakarta Wayang Wong was 'folk' performance anyway, a different story altogether from Yogyakarta, where it is a palace form. The speaker was wrong to see the Kĕthek Ogleng in the festival as representing Yogyakartan standards. After all, the gamĕlan was iron, not perunggu (tin-copper alloy), the costumes were shoddy, and the dance was just simply lacking. Anyway, the thing about festivals is that they are lively and bustling (rame), have lots of pretty girls, and are a completely different activity from attending a classical performance. And who says that stage conventions should be naturalistic anyhow? If the costume Sinta was shown wearing in the Ramayana dance in ASTI was better - why, it was disgusting, it was see-through! And what's all this about pleasing the people? He had overheard comments at one such 'modern' concert along the lines of, "Goodness, this dance is pretty horrible, isn't it?" - "Yes, it's really ugly, it isn't really dance any more, is it?"[64] As for people favouring new creations[65]...to rent one for a function cost Rp 8,000, compared to the Rp 20,000 ASTI charged for classical performances...just because people were economical did not mean that they weren't interested. "Anyhow", - and here comic indirection came to a head - "What's all this about the interest of the common people? You've just got an American degree. How are 'the people' (masyarakat) going to identi y with that, then?"

The comedian had grasped the implications of the speaker's stand, which was based on presuppositions about communication which were not brought out and which were not shared by the majority of the audience, whose wounded sensibilities the comedian salved by tapping the unspoken

feelings in his style of delivery and in the formulae he invoked.[66] These bear particularly on expression and communication.

Later I visited Prince Suryobrongto and reported the above, and elicited a clear response concerning the relation of the dancer's rasa to the perceiving subject represented by the audience. The central point was that the idea of expression as showing forth was irrelevant to rasa in Joged Mataram, where expression comes from the rasa of the dancer going in (rasa masuk ke dalam lagi B.I.). The audience picks up on this in an 'inner' way, prompted by the dancer's inward-turning.[67] "The audience sees not with its eyes, but with its rasa" ("Dia melihat tidak dengan mata tetapi dengan rasa" B.I.), he said. Again, one should remember that a dance performance is multi-sensory, not simply visual, a point the speaker had not made. There is also the sense that the producers of palace dancing feel that it is a totality. As was said of the rhythms of the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, they are "like one's own breathing" - one should remember the metaphorical extension of breath to person, knowledge and effective force. The dancer, unlike the suggestion of one dancer in the seminar who said he was aware of the effect of his rasa on the audience, should not attempt to communicate with the audience; if his sĕngguh (confidence) were right he shouldn't even be aware of it.

Discussions about feelings during performance of Bĕdhaya, or hearing gamĕlan (when overseas) for instance, elicited references to feelings of "nostalgia, homesickness" (nglangut) which might be compared to the idea of langö̆ (see Footnote 18), and solemnity (anggung). This further shows that dance is valued not purely as entertainment or as a pleasure, nor even simply for the collusive stimulation of complacency.

There is a sense of removal of pleasure, or a duality in the 'delicious' (enak/eca k.: usually used of food, and extended metaphorically to be like 'nice') which is akin to the 'bitter-sweet' - though, of course, the total rasa of a performance would comprise all taste sensations and more! One might in this lack or absence notice that there is a structural relation to the negation of certain pleasure-giving actions in ascetic practices, which are concerned with not eating, not sleeping in order to achieve clear-seeking. The theme of lack might also be constrasted with the social value of shared eating of the sĕlamatan exchanges, although a saying "It doesn't matter if we don't eat as long as we can be together" (mangan ora mangan anggere kumpul) might suggest that these exchanges are in fact less about communality than eating to deflect latent hostilities saying more about imminent conflict than immanent harmony. The ethic of the proverb and the aesthetic of nglangut both indicate that eating is about personal gratification, for all the signs of rukun ideology it appears to reflect, and it also says something about the Javanese person when unmediated by socialisation to a sensitivity which results in alus-ness.

Such remarks serve to show the wrongness of the speaker in dismissing as 'feudal' what is valued as adiluhung and potent if in a state of change due to the competition of groups, as will be shown. The speaker then, appears to have shown considerable disregard for local ideas of communication as they are inscribed within this particular reference, as well as non-indigenous ones, as well as assuming a crude theory of theatrical naturalism given ideas such as Brecht's on alienation effect.[67] The speaker also denied the significance which accrues to Wayang Wong, as argued so far, and made nonsense of adiluhung

as a value, rejecting also (consciously?) the theories of knowledge presented above. The aim of dance forms which are adiluhung cannot be limited to pleasureable entertainment: the limits of a semiotic perspective alone have been demonstrated previously. For the theory of rasa as applied to dance here has shown, contrary to the view of Berger and Luckman concerning the detachability of the emotion expressed by the dancer that it is not an "objectively available sign" (1967:51). One might also note here that any idea of the dance having deep structures is made nonsense of, in view of the dense proliferations of reference through assonance and allusion on surfaces which are both discursive and interpretive, and the multiplicity of these surfaces and interstices (and removes, to echo Goodman again), which may be mobilised in various versions and degrees in terms of completion and awareness by participants and viewers.

(viii) Conclusions

This chapter has developed a series of entailments and circularities which seem to preclude the possibility of explanation in any simple linear causal way, something which might be understood as a capacity of rasa. It is clear that there is no single account which may stand as normative. As the next chapter will show, the conditions under which persons act, singly or in groups, are subject to a number of factors which, channelled in discursive formulations and attendant dissimulations, again lead to the idea that perspectives, rather than 'culture', are what ethnographic data (and its subsequent classification as 'thesis') reveal. It is thus not just the presuppositions of key words (Parkin 1978:23) which need to be considered,

but fields of connotations or identifications - in other words, discourse. Key words are not simply 'signs' or 'symbols' on their own.

In view of the thrust to batin of this chapter, it is important to assert here that although it has been said that the classical arts of Java (and anywhere) tend to promote stereotypes and repress inner creativity, there would be little consensus in speech among dancers if they were asked to present the identifications, even less the characteristics, of a character such as Arjuna, often cited as a model for Javanese (de Jong 1976). Characterisation in Javanese terms becomes a matter for not only research, but also stringent self-analysis with regard to how such a role might be put on and taken in. It should also be remembered that if the expressive dimension of the dancer is not detachable, this is because it is doubly detached, by means of the mediated mode, bĕksa. Just as alam cannot survive as 'nature' in discourse, because perceived through training, so bĕksa (dance) cannot be kasar ('natural'), because it is enacted through training. And all dance, as will be explained more fully below, is déjà vu, foregone in its conclusions, at least in terms of narrative structures (Culler 1981: 171-4).

It is also sometimes said that Javanese socialisation is inhibiting, restrictive, and denies freedom. In Western terms, however, freedom is open to interpretation, and is always conditional. The codes of behaviour presented earlier may be understood as embodying the principle of ĕmpan-papan in such a way as to allow a space for freedom to be made. Freedom to operate within the code does come with knowledge, and with that knowledge, subtleties about the constitution of knowledge, and the multiplication of removes from its material grounds. However, the

optionality inhering in the batin perspective complements the tendency to ordering in the lair one. The underdetermination of batin complements the overdetermination of lair, allowing a clarity, not a rigidity, for one's position. So Javanese, in situations which are Javanese (qualifications of course built in), will usually know where they stand.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. "Dalam tari tercermin watak orang" (B.I.), said Prince Suryobrongto, whose views provide one of the perspectives of this thesis. "Mĕnawi tiyang bĕksa, watakipun kĕtingal - sagĕd mirsani tiyang", said a senior lady dance teacher who wishes to remain anonymous.

2. "Artinya batin harus lurus kepada Tuhan" (B.I.).

3. One learns something of Yogyakartan attitudes in the response of one dancer when I mentioned these anecdotes to him: he assumed that these were cases of people being brought up in Jakarta.

4. The complete formula is "Ing ngarsa asung tĕladan" (in front give an example), "Ing madya mangun karsa" (in the centre give encouragement), "Tut wuri handayani" (as in text).

5. Lelyveld 1931:47, my translation: "Peu de peuples sont plus naturellement sensible au rhythm que les Javanais".

6. Rendra 1983:11: "Meskipun banyak terbukti orang Jawa itu bersifat ganas (pembunuhan-pembunuhan dalam pergolakan politik, perang batu antara pemuda, pemerkosaan-pemerkosaan, pemukulan-pemukulan terhadap orang-orang yang menyalahi kebiasaan masyarakat, pembunuhan terhadap pencuri-pencuri kecil, penganiayaan terhadap pencopet-pencopet, dan lain-lain) tetapi ternyata di dalam dunia ideal mereka perasaan halus penting sekali kedudukannya. Adat-istiadat dan sopan-santunnya penuh dengan kehalusan. Rupa-rupanya kebudayaan Jawa dengan sadar memberikan imbangan terhadap watak ganas massanya. Kawruh (pengetahuan umum, bukan science), kebatinannya, bahasa dan kesenian mereka, penuh dengan pengarahan perasaan halus. Simbolisme di dalam kehidupan mereka bukan simbolisme yang logis, melainkan merupakan bentuk terakhir dari elaborasi pengalaman perasaan halus".

7. "Ngatĕn, gandĕng kaliyan kula lair sebagai tiyang Yogya, raos kula, kula wajib lajĕngaken naluri. Mboten anggon kula mĕrgi sĕcara fanatik, mbotĕn, rika rak sampun kathah ingkang ugi nindakakĕn naluri. Mĕnawi kula nindakakĕn naluri mrika atĕgĕsipun ngriki icalan" (personal communication).

8. Twenty-seven out of thirty-two respondents from SMKI-KONRI were from Yogyakarta. Eleven out of forty from ASTI were from Yogyakarta, and eight from other islands. For this reason the questions and answers were in Indonesian, not Javanese.

9 "Bahwa pendidikan kesenian merupakan upaya meningkatkan minat apresiasi seni budaya bangsa Indonesian yang perlu dikaitan dengan Nation and Character Building, dalam rangka peningkatan Ketahanan Nasional, oleh karena itu pendidikan kesenian memerlukan berkelanjutan, dalam mengikut sertakan masyarakat sebagai subyek yang ikut berperan dalam kegiatan kesenian" (Siswa Among Bĕksa 1983: speech by the Head of Dance Education). Roughly translated, this is: "An arts education is a means to raise the interest in the appreciation of

arts and culture of the Indonesian people, which needs to be related to Nation and Character Building, in the name of National Security, so arts education needs to be continued, and with the people together joined as a subject which together is represented in artistic activities".

10. O.J. rakmi, used in literature, is synonymous with raga. O.J. raga is 'colour; passion'; raragan is 'body' (Zoetmulder 1982). Angga has a secondary meaning in O.J., 'to want'.

11. On puruṣa in India (Bengal), see Inden 1976:24-5 . He discusses Puruṣa (or Prajāpati) (which he glosses as "Code Man"), understood to be the origin of the Hindu community with its four varna (class, estate, caste). There appears to be little of this in Javanese uses of purusha.

12. Prawiroatmojo gives jĕlma as 'incarnate', with nitis as 'reincarnate'; other dictionaries vary in their definitions here. Pigeaud gives 'incarnation' for janma, but Horne suggests that titis/nitis has this sense.

13. "Watake kasar." The expression tĕpa salira was glossed by informants as 'cinta kasih' (B.I.) (loving kindness, compassion). Watak wantune is given as 'human nature' by Pigeaud, though informants claimed it was the manner arising from the watak (its cara), others that it was the graspable attributes (sifat) of the watak.

14. Purwadarminta gives the first meaning as 'breath' (napas), the second as 'watak'. O.J. (m)ambĕk is 'having a certain disposition, (mood, inclination, etc.), being...minded, intending, desiring, inclined to'; mawâmbĕk: 'to comport oneself' (Zoetmulder 1982). Horne gives: (1) (having) a character trait; (2) forceful nature/ character; (3) conceited, arrogant. Prawiroatmojo gives for the O.J.: 'thoughts, feelings, heart', and for modern usage, 'conceited, proud'. In one numerical series, nine has "ambĕg sanga" (nine kinds of character traits) (Girardet 1983:947).

15. Cf. the prasangika system in Tibetan Mahayana: "There is no innate conception of a person - coarse or subtle - in which the person is conceived to be a different entity from mind and body" (Hopkins 1977:182).

16. See Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:97, 134. My direction tends to agree with that of Schulte-Nordholt 1980, who also glosses rasa as 'sense'.

17. As in Geertz's statement: "...the ultimate religious experience taken subjectively is also the ultimate religious truth taken objectively, an empirical analysis of inward perception yields at the same time a metaphysical analysis of objective reality" (1960:239).

18. The middle of the passage may be cited: "Alangŏ means both 'enraptured' and 'enrapturing'. It can be said of a beautiful view

as well as of the person affected by its beauty. It has what we might call a 'subjective' and an 'objective' aspect, for there is a common element - the Indians would say: a common rasa - in both subject and object, which makes them conatural and fit to become one. Objectively langö is the quality by which an object appeals to the aesthetic sense. It does so not by the clarity and immediacy of its beauty, but, on the contrary, because it seems distant, half-hidden and apparently inaccessible; because it is suggestive, but does not reveal itself fully; because it allures, hinting at as yet unrevealed riches, so that the seeker after beauty is consumed by longing and the desire to reach it".

19. Hardjowirogo 1983:104: "Maka sekalipun orang Jawa umumnya suka berbicara tentang kamungsan, dalam kenyataan rasa kemanusiaan itu lebih banyak merupakan kata pemanis untuk diucapkan daripada suatu gaya hidup yang karena dihayati secara mendalam bisa mewujutkan pengalaman secara kongkret yang meringankan penderitaan serta mengurangi kepincangan di dalam masyarakat".

20. There is an extent to which the most highly-inflected use of rasa is comparable to that of its Indic relation; as observed in connection with sixteenth-century Bengali Bhaktic poetry, rasa is "identical with the knowledge of itself" (Vaisnawa, in Rupa Gosvamin, Sanskrit Poetics II, 137, in Dimock 1972).

21. Cf. the O.J. glosses for the term krama, Chapter V, Footnote 3.

22. Cf. the O.J. term gati: 'course, action, event, fortunes, state, condition, kind, what is done or to be done' (Zoetmulder 1982).

23. Other terms often cited in connection with rasa might be noted: rahasya (Skt) used in O.J. as 'secret, esoteric'; 'secret, private, clandestine, concealed, mysterious; secret doctrine or mystery. subtle or recondite point'. Rahas (Skt): 'a lonely or deserted place; loneliness, solitude, privacy, secrecy, retirement; a secret, mystery, mystical truth; sexual intercourse' (Monier-Williams 1976; there is no mention for O.J. usages in Zoetmulder 1982). Ras (O.J.): 'deeply penetrating feeling or emotion'; angras: (1) 'deeply moving, disturbingly affected; (2) 'deeply moving, touching (one's heart)'; angrasi: 'to move deeply' (Zoetmulder 1982). There appears no support for Weiss's suggestion that the tangible sign of rasa is in blood - rah - both terms coming from rahsya 'secret' (1979:225). This is probably best treated as 'forced etymology' as explained in Chapter VI above.

24. Prawiroatmodjo's Javanese-Indonesian dictionary (1981), which is based largely on Purwadarminta's Javanese-Javanese one (1939), which in turn is from Pigeaud's Javanese-Dutch work (1938a), gives the following glosses in Indonesian, which I have loosely translated into English: "rasa: rasa, perasaan, bicara (feel, feeling, to speak); dudurasa: bukan main, bukan buatan, bukan kepalang (extraordinary); dirasakake: dirasai, dirasakan (to suffer, to feel); krasan: senang, berasa (merasa) senang betah (feel good); kerasa: sangat terasa didalam hati (to feel strongly); pangrasa:

rasa, perasaan; penjamahan; perabaan (different kinds of emotion and feeling); sangka, pendapat, bicara (opinion, speech); pada pikiran (hemat, pendapat) saya (according to my thinking, in my opinion); bawarasa: berbicara, rundingan, bertukar pikiran, berunding, bermufakat (discussion); dirasani: diperkatakan, dipercakapan, dibicarakan (gossip, slander); rĕrasan: berandai-andai, berbicara tentang (discuss); rumasa (rumangsa): merasa (to feel); ngrasani: mempercakapkan tentang (to talk about); banyu rasa: air rasa (mercury); ngelmu rasa: ilmu gaib (science of the supranatural); rasamala: nama pohon (a tree), sebangsa kemanyan (dupa) (species of frankincense); rasamulya: nama pelias (azimat) (kind of amulet); rasa-pangrasa: perasaan hati (feeling of the 'heart'); rasa-risi: tidak senang hatinya, merasa tertuduh (to feel unease)".

25. One might notice how these have been incorporated into the five-fold classification based on the five market days:

Kliwon	Centre	-	-	-	air
Legi	East	back	skin	rĕla	earth
Paing	South	left	flesh	narima	fire
Pon	West	front	nerves	tĕmĕn	air
Wage	North	right	blood	sabar	water

(Subagyo 1981:101). The addition of tĕmĕn to the group is uncommon, one suspects for the sake of completion.

26. The suggestion was made that the bringers of Islam stipulated that dancing in the palaces could be continued only on condition that the religious significance was excised - as in the case of hand gestures, for example.

27. See de Jong 1976; Mulyono 1982; and Koesno 1982.

28. In the original Indonesian words: "Ya, tarian belum mistik: masih sadar: antara sadar dan tidak sadar - apa bahasa Jawa?...ya, sĕmĕdhi; masih melihat, tapi tidak lihat yang penontong, sĕwiji... ya, 'contemplation'" (Prince Suryobrongto, personal communication).

29. 'Compassion' is my translation of B.I. 'cinta kasih' (=Jav. kawĕlasan 'pity', sympathy, loving kindness' - cf. tĕpa salira, Footnote 12 above,- and is deliberately inflected towards Mahayana Buddhism, in view of one stratum in Javanese inflection, and a Buddhist dance teacher's statement that cinta kasih in such a connection is one of the Mahayanist 'Six Perfections' (sapta paramita); in fact it is one of the 'Four Perfections' (catur paramita), karuna (Sanghyang Kamahayanika 1979).

30. See Gonda 1952:158: "In this connection the words suksma and rahsa which are repeatedly found as members of such a series corresponding to states or stages of the way towards salvation or to other concepts,

are especially interesting. Sometimes suksma is the second highest stage and rahasya or rahsa the highest, then again suksama is the highest and rahasya the third highest, or suksma is equal to roh which may also be put between suksma and rahsa".

31. On sanubari, see Note 38 below.

32. This material derives from Subagyo 1976:51, who also stresses conceptual variations between the different kĕbatinan groups (1976:41-2). On this subject, see also Hadiwijono 1967, Weiss 1979, and Ciptoprawiro 1983, Appendix I. Weiss suggests that there are nine kinds of roh (1979:112) giving an informant model which is again different from those offered in the other sources mentioned. He also records four different kinds of rasa: external (jĕro), internal (jaba), of the heart (khodim), and pure, leading to God (sĕjati). For the relation of this model to specific dogmas, see Zoetmulder and Stöhr 1968, as well as sources already given.

33. On the one occasion an interview was tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed, the interviewee, speaking in Javanese, demonstrated this perfectly: speaking of the physical aspect of dance in relation to the 'heart' of it, he hesitated about describing it as heart (pĕnggalih) and again: "Ah, what is it? - batos (krama for batin), as well as on other occasions in the same interview. See also Appendix 6.

34. Usually given in the B.I. formula, mawas diri. On the connections between militaristic ethics and 'mysticism', see Onghokham 1983: 114ff.

35. The original Indonesian: "Harus marah dari jiwa halus".

36. For example, see Suryobrongto 1970, 1976, 1981, 1982.

37. And, disconcertingly, in his use of language, particularly so as the ethnographer had delayed approaching him until she felt she could acquit herself well in Javanese. These meetings occurred weekly over a period of three months (23 March to 15 June) until the Prince fell seriously ill. On occasions we were joined by his wife, and after a few sessions, a life-long companion with a professional connection to the palace, not an aristocratic one, also became a regular discussant. Prince Suryobrongto died early last year (1985).

38. Giri Sonto, n.d. Other glosses of budi include 'a person' way of thinking' (i.a. Gonda 1952); 'watak as the foundation for being budi; nalar (intellect in the narrow sense) (Purwadarminta 1939); 'intellect' (Pigeaud 1938a). To have budaya (see also Chapter IV, Footnote 31) a faculty which is critical and imaginative, more directed (and implying developed too?) than rasa, is to manifest the full range of capacities and potential to be a civilised human being; Purwadarminta sees these as being budi, nalar, panĕmu (opinion),

angĕn-angĕn (thoughts, imaginings, (wants), = cipta-cipta), and rasa-rumangsaning ati (rasa of the 'heart'). In connection to the way of dealing with the English 'mind', Weiss has suggested it divides in Java between the liver (ati = 'heart') and the brains (otak, his spelling uteq) (1979:240). Brongtodiningrat's model of man considered in Chapter V has the tripartite division which relates to our concern here as follows: Baital Makmur: source of order which leads to the understanding of budi (translated as 'mind') or roh ilafi. Baital Mucharam: the forbidden place, origin of the 'first will' (wahyaning hosik); a bad hosik comes when the budi/ roh ilafi is under the influence of a passion, nyet. Good hosik comes from Sang Sabda, 'The Speaker', which reverberates in the 'heart' (sanubari): "In Javanese it is called 'Dawah ingkang lĕrĕs', His Good Order. This impulse does not come to us via our mind but automatically, it is an intuition. We can obtain it by training, and contemplating (sĕmadhi)". This leads to the connection of the first will with the Baital Makmur. Baital Muchadas: a very sacred place; creation by love not just passion (Brongtodiningrat 1975:13).

39. In the original Javanese (and Indonesian) words: "Mĕnawi jogedipun sampun mapan...lan jiwa sampun mapan, ya, sudah sĕmĕdhi...ya, mirib yoga, soalnya mendekati Mang Maha Kuasa, mĕnawi sĕmĕdhi, mbotĕn kraos punapa".

40. Non-Javanese take alus to mean 'slower', as was evidenced in the responses to a Javanese gamĕlan teacher in a music class attended by predominantly non-Javanese Indonesians held at the Indonesian Embassy, 13 November 1981.

41. Valéry sees the dance as "the exact opposite" to the "practical world": "It moves in a self-contained realm of its own and implies no reason, no tendency towards completion. A formula for pure dance should include nothing to suggest that it has an end. It is terminated by outside events; its limits in time are not intrinsic to it; the duration of the dance is limited by the conventional length of the programme, by fatigue or loss of interest. But the dance itself has nothing to make it end. It ceases as a dream ceases that might go on indefinitely: it stops, not because an undertaking has been completed, for there is no undertaking, but because something else, something outside it has been exhausted". Valéry sums up his discussion of dance as "an action that derives from ordinary, useful action, but breaks away from it, and finally opposes it" (1983:62). While there is a figurative perspective to his discussion which is interestingly adjacent to Danarto's short story on the Bĕdhaya (Footnote 57), there are also many problems. This may be illustrated with regard to the dance in question (Yogyakartan) by an earlier remark in the same essay: "The body seems to have broken free from its usual states of balance. It seems to be trying to outwit - I should say outrace - its own weight, at every moment evading its pull, not to say its sanction" (1983:60). Where Valéry speaks of opposites, I speak of exemplification and extensions, which occur in the medium of discourse, rupturing boundaries around 'practical' worlds and others.

42. There is a circular structure here which some might recognise as being close to the structure of aspiration in Blake's poem The Sunflower; this is not to suggest a 'mystical' framing, but rather to identify similar structures of deferral, which also raise questions about synchronicity, and relations between presence and absence. Such concerns may cast a different light on the statement "Whosoever knoweth the power of the dance dwelleth in God" (Sachs 1938:449).

43. The term also bears on other fields of appreciation. Writing about young people's poetry in Indonesia today, Oemarjati observes that it is "the freedom from all kinds of pamrih (expectations) [that] makes the Indonesian contemporary poetry and drama interesting" (1978:335-6). The absence of pamrih here also suggests a sense of indirection in such projects, or rather, an oblique sense of intentionality.

44. Personal communication. Prawiroatmodjo glosses this term in Indonesian as menjelma, menitis (see Footnote 12). There is also a relevant proverb: "Randu alas mrambat witing sĕmbuka", the first part referring to the body, the second to the jiwa (Tim penyusun n.d.: 127). Informants in Yogyakarta had never come across this proverb.

45. Not much space has been given to this subject in this study. In discussions about Saivism in India, O'Flaherty has considered the categories of asceticism (tapas) and desire (kama), and suggested that rather than being seen as opposites, chastity and sexuality might better be seen as complementary (1963:15-16, 35-6 espec.). René Girard also casts a different light on received ideas about asceticism in his remark that "The secret of success, in business as well as in love, is dissimulation", and his gloss of 'askesis' as "renunciation for the sake of desire" (1965:107, 154). Such perspectives are clearly useful for understanding Javanese material.

46. Translated into English from Hardjowirogo's text and gloss 1984:74-5. The Javanese is as follows, from the Dhandang Gula section, Verse 2: "...hakeh kang ngaku-aku,/pangrasane sampun hudani/tur durung wruhing rasa kang satuhu/rasa-rasaning punika/hupayanĕn darapon sampurna hugi/hing kahuripanira".

47. No one, however, suggested a relationship between these bodily associations and a model of the cakras.

48. Subagyo 1976:43: "ruang hidup didalam diri manusia yang bersifat kekal" (B.I.).

49. Hawa = breath, by implication energy (and thus, the self?). Some described sĕmĕdhi (contemplation) as breath control, one even claiming that the Prophet's ascent to heaven on the mythical Buroch (like a flying horse with a woman's head) was an image for breath-control. Others made a distinction, saying that breath-control was simply a technique, exercises, and that contemplation was different. On the application of kĕrata basa (explication) to hawa nafsu, see Nakamura 1983:167.

50. The Javanese do, however, tend to be compulsive consumers of patent medicines, jamu. In connection with the general drift of my argument, one might also note that in Java one is less likely to get a headache only than a total physical seizure. High blood pressure is also a problem among the older - ascribed by one doctor to kebatinan practices which end up creating tension: signs of a misapplication of many of the lessons the various schools teach.

51. Activities such as sleeping on hard rush mats, immersing oneself in chilly, mosquito-ridden rivers from midnight till dawn (kungkum) and fasting are various forms of tapa or tirakat. One might note different kinds of fasting apart from the Islamic one, observed by Javanese often for many Islamic reasons such as the acquisition of power. Mutih requires abstaining from rice, sugar, chillies, and salt; ngebeng, abstaining from food and drink without interruption (i.e. also after sunset): informants regarded this as questionable in its uses, reckoning that it would lead only to hallucinations, if not to death: pati geni is like ngebeng with the added privation of not seeing sunlight.

52. For a typology see Weiss 1979:277; also Hobart 1985a.

53. This also includes the following (forms which vary at different levels are indicated): kira/kinten (ng./k.): 'to guess, approximate'; mbedhek-mbedhek: 'guessing'; manah, mikir, nggagas: 'to think (about)'; ngangen-ngangen, nglimbang-nglimbang: 'to meditate'; ngenta-ngenta: 'to represent, imagine'; ngerti/ngertos (ng./k.): 'to know, understand'; nyandak/priksa (ng./k./i.) ibid.; weruh, nyandak/sumerup/priksa (ng./k./k.i.): 'to know, see'; nganggap (tanggap): 'to grasp'; paham (from Ar.): 'broad understanding, comprehension'; pangerti/pangertos (ng./k.): 'comprehension, knowledge'.

54. One informant said that kalap is 'lost orientation'. Similarities between this kind of explanation and those of cases of hysteria as discussed by Freud have been suggested (Ivan Ward, personal communication. The idea of kalap may be related to the recognised Javanese characteristic of avoiding states which may lead to lack of control, such as those induced by alcohol or hallucinogenic drugs. While this today is held to be a cultural trait, there is much evidence that it is not innate. Prince Suryobrongto referred to performers in Wayang Wong who would be given opium if they were addicts, or if they were taking on the roles of the clowns. Further back in time, Crawfurd refers to the lack of austerity in Javanese Islam, and notes that 80,000 lbs of opium was consumed per year (though whether this was in Java alone is unclear) and refers to "a universal passion for intoxicating drugs"; he met only three people who abstained from wine (Crawfurd 1820, Vol.II:268-70). One might note that his line of work might have had something to do with the kind of person he encountered; also, their efforts to please him might conceivably have influenced their enthusiasm to imbibe.

55. Magnis Suseno 1983:95: "Dalam pandangan dunia obyektif non-personal ini kategori-kategori kunci adalah 'kenyataan' dan 'kebenaran', yang terakhir dalam arti 'pengetahuan tepat tentang kenyataan' itu. Dua kategori ini tidak banyak bermanfaat dalam dunia pengalaman Jawa. Faham 'kenyataan obyektif' hanya dapat diterapkan di mana kita berhadapan dengan sesuatu yang obyektif dan pasti, seperti misalnya sebuah kebun bagaimanapun juga selalu memuat jumlah pohon yang pasti: kalau ada delapan batang, maka sekali dihitung dengan tepat, berarti kebenaran tercapai bahwa kebun ini memuat delapan buah pohon. Sekali diketahui tetap dapat diandalkan dalam segala perhitungan selanjuynya. Tetapi kalau kekuatan-kekuatan yang menentukan hidup manusia tidak bersifat obeyktif melainkan subyektif - sebagai ungkapan dari roh-roh yang tidak pasti sikapnya, jadi yang tidak dapat diperhitungkan dengan pasti - maka, tidak terdapat pula suatu 'kenyataan obyektif' yang sekali diketahui kebenarannya kemudian dapat diandalkan. Jadi 'mencari kebenaran' supaya dapat bertindak 'sesuai dengan kenyataan obyektif' dalam pandangan Jawa itu sangat terbatas artinya". One should note in connection with this passage that the Indonesian term for mathematics is 'ilmu pasti'. The Javanese term for benar (certain), is estu, 'really', or 'sincerely'.

56. A more conventional account may be found in the writings of Hamzah Pansuri (see Van Reijn 1983:16) described as the four gates. "The gates are called: (1) Sharī'ah (conforming to the prescription of Muslim Law), (2) Ṭarīqah (training under a spiritual master), (3) Ḥaqīqah (the love relationship between the Ṣūfī and God), and (4) Rahasia (Ar. Sirr "secret", non-duality, the impenetrable mystery of the Divine Essence which is beyond words). See also Nicholson 1978. Brongtodiningrat 1982:19 defines ma'rifat as the understanding of God's attributes. In Serat Wedhatama, Kangjeng Ratu Kidul is understood to represent the stage of hakekat (see Sinom section 1982: 16-28). For a discussion of Balinese attitudes to knowledge and naming, see Hobart 1981.

57. Danarto 1982:66-71, Bedoyo Robot Membelot.

58. Cf. Bowie's formulation of Lacanian theory: "The Real may be structured - created even - by the subject for himself, but it cannot be named. It is the irremediable and intractable 'outside' of language; the indefinitely receding goal towards which the signifying chain tends; the vanishing point of the Symbolic and the Imaginary alike" (Bowie 1979:133-4). While the terminology is different, it seems that ideas of language in Lacan and also in Derrida may elucidate what is being talked about by means of the term ma'rifat.

59. See Soebardi 1975:134 (Asmarandana [IX]):6: "[Your] knowledge (ngelmune) is sound/but you do not have an adequate vessel/ therefore [the knowledge] overflows./ You have not yet read many books/[but] still have become hastily arrogant/by imitating Pangeran Panggung/who already had a spiritual body (abadan suksma: material life and spiritual life", see his note 194). 7: "Therefore, Kyahi Mutamakin/you should never be careless./ This mystical knowledge is very delicate,/even though your belief/is true (nyata ing tekadira)/it is better to keep it secret,/do not let it be revealed".

(This is part of Dĕmang Urawan's recitation of the Bhima Suci (i.e. Dewa Ruci) story which is so popular a reference among contemporary Yogyakartans when discussing higher things (see Yasadipura 1979). The idea of deferral here takes on a practical role and bears on questions of orthodoxy.

60. De Jong's theory of concentration, which establishes a difference between the world and the body, and representation, which effects reconciliation and harmony (1976:36).

61. Drewes 1978:49, Text 1, para.3b; the original text is as follows: "Ujare Molama Magĕribi: N-heh nanak ratu ing Girigajah, wakcane puniku paesan jasad, kang angilo rohe; kaping kalih kang angilo kangarang (n)ugraha, kang den-taruna nu/graha wontĕn ing paesan roro...kang angilo sawiji paesan jasad, kaping kalih paesan roh kang angilo, iya angolahakĕn iya jasad iki sarta lan rohe ana jasad ana rohe, nyatane jasad rohe itu...jasade, angilo iku den-ucapĕna(?)..." (1978:48).

62. For a discussion of this term, see Chapter VIII, Footnote 37.

63. This is a dance which tells a story from the Panji cycle and involves a monkey (kĕthek); it is most commonly found in the Bantul and Gunung Kidul parts of the DIY. See further, Pigeaud 1938:176, 402; Soedarsono 1976:160; Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah 1977:75.

64. "Wah, joged iku elek tĕmĕn, ya?" "Iya, ala wae! Kok, ora asli maneh, joged kuwi!"

65. Although not mentioned in the seminar, it should be pointed out here that newspaper reports on the Festival stated that seventeen out of the twenty-seven provinces taking part had had ex-students of Bagong's school involved in the preparation of their piece - which might explain certain odd but recurrent features in what were mainly war dances for big groups. Far from being the rivetingly entertaining event the speaker implied, much of the Festival had been patchy, occasionally boring, and often sloppy, although interesting if simply for the range of music, and also due to the curiosity factor.

66. The role of clowns and attendants (punakawan) as that of social critics has commonly been remarked upon (Brandon 1974; Becker 1979). However, there is also in the repartee of these figures the aspect of taking the part of the man in the street: one who is concerned by modernisation, particularly if this means adopting non-local ways (Hatley 1979:16-18).

67. He had once related the story of a Dutch woman who had seen a Bĕdhaya performance at the Hague; when the bĕdhaya had made their solemn marched entrance, she had burst into tears, exclaiming that the dancers looked like 'angels'. So, was this a typical or desirable reaction? "No", said Gusti, "No Javanese would dream of responding in such a way! But it does demonstrate the inner power of the dance."

68. See Brecht 1964:136-47. In view of the way 'content and meaning' have been appraised so far, one might also note Shahn's comment: "...a work that is tawdry and calculating in intent is not made more worthy by being easily understood. One does not judge an Einstein equation by its communicability, but by its actual content and meaning" (cited in Best 1978:150). Although I have not referred explicitly to Best's work in this chapter, many of his decimations of theories have helped to work through some of the problems that have come up here, even if not always resulting in agreement with his theses.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LOST HERO AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

> Yogya style classical dance was created in an atmosphere of revolt to overthrow the colonialists, it was born of blood, sweat, and tears, because this dance is characterised by a strong and courageous fighter for whom surrender is forbidden, as well as being loyal, simple, and sincere, as in having a sense of noble race/nationalism, an inheritance of energy and values like this, one which we are in the process of having to care for and to make grow (Siswa Among Bëksa 1982:7).[1]

> Even tradition does not pretend to an antiquity of above a few centuries (Crawfurd 1820, Vol.II:295).

> All is flux. The moralists, the capitalists, attempted to find a framework outside the flux, a solid bank for the river, a pier rather than a raft. Truth is what helps a particular sect in the general flow (Hulme 1971:222).

If the preceding chapter tended to a batin perspective, this one will tend to the realm of lair, and will serve to show the limitation of one perspective by another - history and political expediency - while at the same time one should not forget that the 'objective' (lair) is also perspectival.

While the issues considered so far may be understood as elitist concerns - dance belonging to the palace, being an heirloom of the king - this chapter will provide a different frame. If the structuring of material hitherto has been largely with reference to idioms of place and placing, the theme of temporality will now be introduced, and shown to have two manifestations. The first is that of repetition, reiteration, and re-enactment, the second that of the completed past with its difference from now.

The first is related to ideas of appropriateness and the things to which cara jawa refers, tacitly or overtly. As was suggested in the previous chapter, identity is tied up with one's place of origin or residence: Yogyakarta may be a state of being as well as a state; but identity is also linked to the flow of inheritance (alur waris). The repetition of past structures, or structures which are understood to be from the past, and thus naluri (handed down, traditions), are also repositories of value (adiluhung). A degree of familiarity is a precondition for the audience to be able to identify references in the dramatic elements of dance forms. There is also a sense in which such performances will endorse what the audience wants to know - or, more accurately, do not show what the audience does not want to know.

In so far as interest groups in palace dance tended to be defined by kinship and occupation, with individuals often citing parental participation in this sphere as a reason for their own interest today, the first part of this chapter will consider some features of group formation, and it will be shown that palace groups do not necessarily entail a closure of motivation or an exclusive identification with one interest.

It will be shown that re-enactment is linked to the focus of identity in contemporary media (i.e. government directed and controlled aspect of discourse) and to the way in which forms such as dance may be incorporated into other discourses, which both demonstrate and prove the impossibility of any single-stranded description of palace dancing as this or that, and the lack of usefulness in attempting to present it as a representation which enacts essentials.

In this way , the themes of conflict and contest will emerge as central. The first part of the chapter will consider oppositions along formal, structural lines, and look at group identifications, systems of representations, and the culture clash between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and how these bear on dance ideology. We will see that dance is not only good to fight with, but that this metaphor of strife may be applied at various removes: as martial ethic, both as an aspect of the batin's internal action, and also literally.

In so far as consciousness is constituted by remembrance, the chanelling of this remembrance and the struggle between the various dance factions in Yogyakarta combine in what is seen as a contest to define authenticity in dance practices. This is just one instance of a wider programme to define (or elicit) remembrance - of what will be shown in due course - and thus the identifications which identity entails (as implied in Chapter VI).

While temporality generates ideas of sameness, it also leads to the second manifestation, that of the 'no longer', the place of change and loss. A specific question of identity here - that of Indonesian versus Javanese - will be considered as an aspect of the context to define authenticity, which may be understood as occurring between these two points of reference.

Conflict and opposition will thus move from the formal-structural to the historico-ideological versions, and dance will be shown to illustrate forms of conflict and manipulation of both sense and status in the face of diversity and divisiveness as they are found in Yogyakartan paradigms and experiences.

In sum, the concern here is with how representations occur, rather than what happened at the time, or how what happened is represented as something (else) - bearing in mind also the paradoxical relation of recognition to cognition already cited. Thus group formations in and out of the palace and their concomitant references, will be discussed; then formal oppositions in representations and their relation to power, leading to the connection between heirlooms and heroes which intensifies the idiom of conflict in its various forms; and finally, the situation today (i.e. 1982-4). The discussion will use temporality to show how repetition and loss are generated, with conflict and opposition being seen first in formal structural terms, and then as historico-ideological configurations.

To start with, then, we shall consider certain aspects of group affiliation as a background to how dance interest groups today may be understood.

(i) Remembering Groups

In Chapter VI it was suggested that things social in Java belong to the sphere of lair, with the concept of rukun (harmonious appearances) serving as a way to talk about the need to hold in check the natural disruptive impulses of the untutored individual. It has also been said that there is traditionally no word for the abstraction 'society' in Java, communities being distinguished by the style in which they are imagined, and that Javanese society may be understood to be defined through patron-client ties (Anderson 1983:15-16). Since independence, these ties have been explained as resting on formal organisational structures in contrast to the informal ones which existed under Dutch

administration (Wertheim 1969:10). While this view depends on an understanding of the bureaucracy (priyayi) as the dominant executive class in Indonesia, it is also possible to take the view that it is coteries, rather than a fully ascribed 'class' system, which prevail in Java today (Palmier 1969; Emmerson 1976). Local conceptions of groups also tend to present a somewhat different picture.

If kinship is often the idiom through which ethnography considers group affiliations, and thus social structure, in Java there is some disagreement as to whether connections through blood and affinity are a precondition for ties endorsed by proximate residence, or whether it is not this residence which is a precondition for social relations which are then structured according to kinship idioms (Geertz 1961). The fragility of groups, suggested above, may be a symptom of an even wider range of variables which in different cases may or may not create conditions for kin-like ties:

> In general, the range of kinship affiliation is limited primarily by memory, acquaintance, and needs, rather than by structure, custom, or common residence, and therefore differs from individual to individual (Koentjaraningrat 1972:50).

Such a view also helps to explain the diversity of patterns from village to village in the central Javanese region. It should also be noted here that memory may be a consolidating factor, but it may also be a disruptive one: it is memories of past grievances which threaten even the illusion of appearances of harmony in some cases.

This account is not comprehensive, as there are already complete studies devoted to kinship;[2] but certain points may be drawn out. As Yogyakarta is a palace town, come of the communities (kampung) are characterised by everyone having a common descent. For instance, in

RK Notoyudan, where most inhabitants trace their ancestry to a son of HBII (Suryawinata), an acquaintance was engaged in helping make a genealogy of this group, which has organised itself as a trah (loosely, 'ancestor group').[3] The increasing number of these descent groupings tells us something about current identifications with the past, as they exist primarily to ensure the maintenance of the apical ancestor's grave: each trah comprises one or more descent lines (ombyokan, sasĕdherek) which gather in the month before Pasa, the fasting month, or at the Lĕbaran celebrations which close Pasa, to visit the grave, often outside Yogyakarta. This suggests that Sullivan's description of the Yogyakartan kampung as an urban community (1980:6-8) may not always be the case, as people in trah, and others who are not, often have a nostalgic identification with a village of origin or the family ancestor.

In a style somewhat akin to that of Geertz in explaining the function of rotating credit associations (arisan) (1962) in Java, the trah has been defined in terms of organisational significance, rather than as kinship: trahs

> must be looked at in terms of their actual organisational structure and how they function in relation to society in general, rather than simply trying to characterise them in terms of descent and kinship (Sairin 1982:91).

While this is possible, it is also true that, given rapid changes in Yogyakarta arising chiefly from social mobility - for example, in Yogyakarta 3.8 per cent of local income derives from rentals of accommodation to outsiders (Monografi DIY 1979:79) - the increased need to become actively aware of one's roots, rather than taking them for granted, may be one aspect of why trah have become more numerous. To be in a trah is to know one's descent line (pancĕr if through the

father). Trah may also be understood as the setting-up of 'the family of X' (keluarga X B.I.) where X is the name of a town other than where the 'family' is established. The same applies to professional groups - 'the big family of the police' (keluarga besar polisi); or in the case of some Sumatrans in Yogyakarta, 'the family of Aceh' (keluarga Aceh).

The Javanese term for 'family' (kulawarga) can indicate a household, rather than a kin group.[4] Most Yogyakartans acknowledge relations through their grandparents, great-grandparents, and great-great-grandparents, the relation to ego of such lateral relations being sĕpupuh (naksanak, nakdulur), misanan, and mindoan, for first, second and third cousins respectively. The term saderek is usually 'relative', though this term is used incorporatively (I become saderek on helping prepare food at a friend's wedding), rather than stating a fixed and literal relation of blood or affinity. Members of a household (saomah, brayat omah) are equally liable to be determined by circumstances, and this 'family' should not be confused with one regulated by clear-cut biosocial limitations. The terms brayat, brayan, and bĕbrayan[5] were suggested as 'society', or for the Islamic concept of ummat, subject to many interpretations, and, as recently noted, in the Yogyakartan region, perhaps predictably, to the narrowest one, and a social grouping whose reference is not society but God (Nakamura 1983:48, 139).[6] The immanence of concepts such as rukun discussed above should also be remembered here.

In view of the exigencies of everyday life and the conflict which often ensues between neighbours who may or may not be kin, there is a level - the same at which the Yogyakartan listening to music or watching a Bĕdhaya will feel 'nostalgic' (nglangut) - at which home is where a

Yogyakartan remembers he has hung his hat. In spite of this idealisation of origins, which is met by trah activities, there is a tendency for people to act in groups - even for simple activities such as shopping, or washing one's clothes - but members of the groups who do these things vary. Frequent divorce also makes for variability in households and group affiliation. With regard to marriage choice, prohibitions between patrilineal parallel cousins (pancĕr wali) may be overcome with a dispensation (of clean health, lack of hereditary disease, physical or mental), but there is a difference between rural communities, where misanan (second cousin) marriages are prohibited, and the urban aristocracy where they are common (Koentjaraningrat 1972:50). Hence in Yogyakarta there is a preference for endogamy as there are so many who claim links on different grounds with the palace. If the literal grounds of kinship may sometimes be loose, there tends among palace people to be strong impersonal vertical affiliations. Connections between Ego and X may be distant, but Ego will usually be able to rattle off the relation (kapĕrnah) he bears to X, even if (s)he is not readily able to use a kin term to identify that person.

Marriage in urban communities occurs later than in rural ones, but is the rule rather than the exception. There are three criteria for marriage selection: bibit, bobot, bĕbĕt: 'origin (=seed); heredity and worldly wealth; and moral character (watak) or descent': conflicting accounts among informants again show how ideas of the person inflect explanations of this term. Endogamous tendencies result in a correlation of community and lineage. Endogamy also reduces affinal obligations, or their diversification, particularly in view of descent and inheritance being bilateral, as well as the threat of the unknown.

It is curious in this respect how marriages of alliance between Sultans and the kin of other palace centres tended to be muted, for reasons discussed below, although they were frequent. Sultan Agung married a princess from one of the Cirebon courts in Sunda; HBI married a daughter of his ally and subsequent foe, Mangkunegara I, and so forth. Such marriages also tended to remove dance forms (among other things) from the place of the wife to her husband's home. The Langendriya dance opera of Yogyakarta is said to have arrived in the Mangkunegara by this process. At the same time, contrary to Western systems, having many degrees of descent from the apical ancestor does not confer status: the further from the ancestor, the 'weaker' the whiteness (=blue) of one's blood (Palmier 1969:46). Palmier also points out that descent alone is insufficient, and should be enhanced by good education or culture (1969:57); the tripartite nature of criteria for marriage selection demonstrates this.

This is one reason that one does not find everyone in Yogyakarta attempting to belong to the trah of the first Sultan, but in many cases, of a more recent prince. The system of noble titles in Yogyakarta[7] also means that marriage to someone whose title has more credit (i.e. is less removed from the royal forebear) is desirable, such capacity coming from father or mother. The Sultan himself traces his ancestry on the one side (left) from the Indic heroes of the shadow play, and on the other from Adam and Eve. His own descendants will be added to a genealogy (silsilah) which is shown in diagram in the form of a tree, with sons to the right and daughters to the left, in the form of leaves, giving the impression of an ascent from a root, in spite of the idiom of descent (alur: flow) already noted.

The immediate members of the Sultan's family, comprising his sons and daughters (putra/i dalĕm), and grandchildren (wayah dalĕm)[8], are usually classed as sĕntana dalĕm (roughly, 'palace kin'). Descendants of these people, and of palace officials who are not of this group, and their descendants, form the widest reaching group of palace people (kerabat kraton, B.I.; Jav: krabat, sanak sadulur), While it is sometimes said that the use of noble titles is a thing of the past, this was not evident in Yogyakarta, although teachers of Taman Siswa tend to drop their titles. In many cases though, modern status indicators are simply added to these. One thus finds princes who go by the title of Doktorandrus Gusti Bĕndara Pangeran Harya (shortened to Drs GBHP), or, in Surakarta, Raden Ngabehi Lieutenant Kolonel (R.Ng.Let.Kol.).

Apart from the many cases where ties of blood and occupation are cross-cutting, particularly in the case of the higher official ranks, the system of upgrading one's children's titles through marriage means that enormous numbers of people in Yogyakarta have a title. Added to this, the custom of the Sultan and his menfolk having four wives (not to mention numerous concubines [sĕlir]) means that extremely large numbers of children were generated by each father.[9] The relationship of half-sibling is also very common, but is frequently dissimulated, the term for it in Javanese (kawulon) having negative implications, and being avoided either through the use of terms for sibling or the Indonesian word 'tiri'. In the past, the large numbers of princes resulted in fractionation; the history of the foundation of Yogyakarta and the subsequent conflicts confirm that a group linked by blood is not necessarily cohesive in the face of other options for alliance. On the contrary, siblings who were rivals within one court tended to align with the outside group against

each other - in the Javanese case, this group was usually the Dutch VOC who in later years tended to exploit sibling rivalry (Ricklefs 1974; Mochtar 1982:40). The provisional nature of groups noted in Chapter VI, Section i, should be remembered here.

Genealogical relations to the palace are recorded in the KPH Tĕpas Darah Dalĕm (palace 'Blood Office') and also witnessed by the head of the Kawĕdanan Agung Sri Wandawa. The same office issues claimants with 'buttoning' certificates (sĕrat kĕkancingan). These letters trace one's descent (asul-usul Ar.) from an apical ancestor who may be a king, prince, or in the case of a letter shown to me, one of the legendary bearers of Islam to Java, the Wali Sunan Kudus. The informant was eleven 'steps' (tĕdhak) away from this sage, the certificate allowing for twenty-seven degrees of remove from the apix. The line was traced immediately through her mother and grandmother. She explained this as being due to the fact of her father having come into the town where her mother lived, her descent thus being easier to prove than that of her father. The ancestors closer to the Wali, as one might expect from an Islamic descent line, were male. Other palace informants said that only people of dubious descent bothered to obtain these letters. My informant had not obtained hers until, under maternal pressure, she was going to study overseas. Again, in one's own place, descent and affiliation may be taken for granted, as being beyond the need of term or title.

With regard to the palace officials and their descendants, it is important to notice the difference of ethos between officials who worked in the administration section (Kĕpatihan) outside the palace proper, and those who worked inside (jĕro). Usual descriptions of priyayi,[10]

the white-collar-cum-aristocratic bureaucrats, tend to be more evocative of the rather correct, Dutchified heel-clicking officials who used to be connected to the administration, rather than of the historians, poets, musicians, craftsmen and attendants inside the palace who to this day tend to be more abangan and traditionalist than the upwardly-mobile and uprooted white-collar specialists. For instance, one erstwhile poet and scribe (who did in fact work in the Kepatihan for a while after this - as a painter), connected to the palace also by marriage, with a Raden Mas title, confused young Yogyakartans who were present at the conversation by persisting in terming himself a 'villager' (wong dhusun), and very much an abangan. He may be considered representative of those who know extensively the literature and forms of the palace, and was also a fervent exponent of the ideology of revolt, discussed presently. Again, it cannot be overstated how misleading the Geertzian categories are if applied descriptively. The categories are ascriptive, but, as Bachtiar (1973) has argued, priyayi is a professional status, while abangan and santri (or putihan, as they are called when palace officials connected to the mosque) tend to indicate religious affiliations, identifiable at a behavioural level (Nakamura 1983:see Fn.6). After 1946, "Rather than social atavisms in the countryside (the court elites) became custodians of royal traditions within the court itself...a more meaningful role..." (Ricklefs 1981:208). It would be misleading, therefore, in the ensuing discussion, to understand 'palace interest group' as necessarily being priyayi. In fact, it will be seen that it is those palace people who link up with the PDK who are more priyayi-like than the officials who still work in the palace, or those who have stopped, but continue to dance or teach. We should recall that it

was said that Javanese dance belonged to palace officials (abdidalĕm) and ballroom dancing to the priyayi.

It should also be noted that officials of this type tended to be badly paid. Salary was linked to rank, not duties. A jajar in the KPH Widyabudaya who polished verses in old manuscripts would be paid the same as a jajar who polished the floor. Such people usually sought wives who could contribute actively to the household budget, often by making and selling bathik (see also Palmier 1969). The wives of palace kin and officials also played important roles in preparing ritual food, held high ranks themselves, and were often recommended as informants by male heads of sections who were ignorant of technical details.

To sum up this section, kinship relations are activited not per se but according to negotiable circumstances, although the over-arching conditions for relevance in a relation will be between person and place, and what has been passed down. Formal acts of kinship definition, through trah or 'buttoning certificates' may be understood as reactions to rapidly changing social circumstances, which threaten the self-evident and fluid interactions, as expressed in terms for kin and other groupings. The use of titles also suggests that it is not only official power which determines significant status. Protection of descent in material and ideological terms is an important aspect of how interest groups participating in dance are proliferating and also competing. History thus becomes tangibly present, the past enacted in present forms, endowing associations with further capacities to show their loyalties, fuelled with the urbanity of historical interpretations.

However, before we consider this, we will examine certain palace forms which both enhance the authority of the king, and demonstrate the lack of unity, as the former reason for any grand palace event was the assemblage of rulers of scattered appanages to keep an eye on them. Today, however, control is understood to quell potentially disruptive passions (hawa nafsu).

(ii) Action as Violence

> The Javanese are naturally an unwarlike people, and it is the necessary consequence of their luxurious climate that they should want the hardihood and manly virtues of the semibarbarians of the severer regions. The fertility of their soil, and the benignity of their climate, are a sort of hot-bed, in which has sprung up a sickly civilisation, wanting the vigour and hardihood of the plant of a rougher clime and more stubborn soil (Crawfurd 1820, Vol.II:296).

The discussion of kinship has shown the evasiveness and lack of social cohesion which ethnography for the region would suggest is normative; it has already been argued that hierarchical constraints are evaded by means of indirection and humour to subvert rules and codes. While dancing of the palace is adiluhung, though by no means simply repeated as passed down from the first Sultan, there is a sense in which to seek any literal manifestation of what has become the 'ideal model of, and for' Java would, in terms of 'refinement' and passivity be misleading and ill-conceived. On the contrary, the data presented so far suggest that it is opposite virtues which are embodied in the Yogyakartan style: militarism, action, discipline, and rebellion.

In all but the solo Golek form, conflict is the theme of palace dance forms, so we need to consider further oppositions, as they exist

here, and also in the shadow play (wayang purwa),[11] whose plots deriving from the Indic Mahābhārata are originals or references for those of the Wayang Wong.

The first production of Wayang Wong anywhere took place in Yogyakarta between AD 1758 and 1760, enacting Gandawardaya, a story about two half-brothers, who were ignorant of the identity of their father (the Pandhawa, Arjuna) and who had joined the sides of the Pandhawa and Korawa respectively. Through the mediation of the figure Sémar (see below), the conflict is resolved and the two align on the same side, the Pandhawa's. It is possible that this story was chosen because of analogies with the events leading to the foundation of Yogyakarta, the half-brothers being identified with Prince Mangkubumi (later HBI) and his half-brother, Pakubuwana II of Surakarta (Soedarsono 1984:94-5).

In so far as "the wayang serves as medium to transmit a description of the Javanese 'ideal culture', the culture of the ancestors" (Bachtiar 1973:100), one cannot fail to note the idiom of heroic action, action which is constituted by violence, which in turn motivates the narrative structure. The shadow play, like the dance form it inspired, is based on conflict. In the Kasultanan, such plays used to take place on Saturday night after tourneys had been held in the south-east corner of the north square to the accompaniment of the gamélan Munggang and Kyai Guntur Laut. This fighting was described by informants as being "like silat on horseback". The shadow play performances on these occasions were termed barwatang (from bibar watangan: the end of the tourney). It has already been observed that the group dance for males fighting with lances, the Béksa Lawung/Trunajaya, is also identified with the action of these tourneys. Wayang Wong also, before the

elaborations introduced by HBVIII, was also more a series of conflicts.[12] The martial element of dances performed by females, Bĕdhaya and Srimpi, may also be linked to the activities of the female cavalry, Langĕnkusuma, who were active warriors under Sultan Agung, and who were revived as a group by HBII as Crown Prince, and according to one source, took part in tourneys, the winner of which became his wife (Kawindrasusanta 1953:4-5).[13]

Although the shadow play is subject to interpretations which detract from the literal level of violence in its performance, certain observations about oppositions might be noticed here, particularly in view of the tendency for commentators to see the opposed factions in terms of good and bad. This is a recent, not a traditional, interpretive trend (Magnis Suseno and Reksosusilo 1983:105). Both sides are indispensable to the action of the play; the opposition is a precondition of events. As one informant put it, Karna, the Pandhawa raised in the court of the Korawa, is his favourite character, because without him, the Great War (Bharatayuda) could never happen. With reference to the discussion about kinship above, it should be noted that the opposed factions are in fact cousins; a Javanese noble would have known this even before the play began. The close of the play, as in former productions of Wayang Wong, was conceived not as the death of the 'bad' side, but as completion - i.e. with each party restored to its own place; provisionally, for, as any Javanese will tell you, things do not stay still. The notion of conclusion in the Bĕdhaya dance might also be remembered here: surrender is temporary, provisional, with winning signifying not the destruction of the enemy, but a provisional winning over.[14] The performance event is understood in terms of process, rather than structure, suggesting less sociological 'instability' than a

pragmatic recognition of the facts of generation and mortality. Completion requires two elements.[15] There is of course a third element in the shadow play, the passage of time, which is represented by the gunungan wand. In Java today there tends to be an association between time and the figure Bathara Kala, son of Durga and Siwa, which highlights the destructive aspects of time, Kala being a consumer of human flesh. While the shadow play can only exist in time, there is also the view that time should be controlled and checked to present its destructiveness from becoming manifest (Koesno 1982). At the same time, informants remarked that such identifications of time with the destructive aspects of Kala are recent; in the past, the Kala figure, as represented by a head over gateways, was considered to be protective. As already suggested, process, and thus temporality, is valued over and above hypostatisation, and this is expressed in the variability of classifications, which may be in twos, but which may equally become three or one, depending on systems and circumstances.

Roles in shadow and dance plays are not simply a case of black and white either; if alus and kasar are fused as a formulaic shorthand way of placing a character, it is rarely the whole story. In the case of Karna, informants would discuss lengthily whether he was morally at fault, having been raised with the Korawa. The reason why the shadow play is used to carry so much discussion and speculation is precisely because it evades simple classification. For example, after midnight there often occurs a scene in which Arjuna engages in battle with the ogre (raksasa) Cakil, truly an evil-looking character with fangs. In Surakartan Wayang Wong this dance is also popular, and is often performed as a set piece. This confrontation reveals alus as being the denaturalised and civilised,

with kasar as the natural. If it is in the nature of things for kasar to clash overtly, and to be seen to expend energy, to be active, then it is the nature of alus to dissimulate power and appear inactive. Cakil waves his arms and leaps about, while Arjuna stands still and flicks his arms, or, in dance, his sash. Alus characters stand their ground, kasar ones move about a great deal; the ideal of place is also expressed here.

It should also be noted that it is reductive of Wayang, as it would be of the traditions of the Grail Romances[16] or of Shakespeare, to restrict its reference to a simple duality. Where a Western moralising tone may read the conflict in shadow play and other forms as dualism in which good triumphs over evil, other systems of thought, which include the Javanese one, see the conflict as a means to life, not as a matter of life and death. Also, as it is not in the nature of alus to value the clear or the specific, in an analytical style which identifies with the alus, ambiguity concerning endings might be predictable. There are, however, certain caveats to this, which will emerge.

It has been suggested that with the replacement of revenues from appanages by income from the Dutch, the ethos of the palaces of Central Java became introverted and redundant:

> It was largely an attempt to express the ideals of an aristocratic ethos which was increasingly irrelevant in an age of peace, but which the royal elite found reassuring and the Dutch found useful as part of their policy of using 'traditional' authority in the cause of tranquillity (Ricklefs 1981:120).[17]

One might also note here Sutherland's above remarks concerning enforced patronage of the dance on the part of the Dutch administration as an expression of colonial exploitation rather than any 'indigenous' culture.

Given the perspectival, not chronological approach of this study, what is said about this in Yogyakarta today rests on grounds other than these, as will be shown. However, before this, identifications made in Yogyakarta about fighting require elaboration.

Fighting and conflict are used metaphorically in texts which deal with morals and ethics. Simultaneously, the shadow play is treated as a representation of a conflict which is inner. The fight thus becomes the struggle of life - this is distinct from the literally glossed 'holy war' (jihad) of Islam. Images of this kind tend to be at variance with the desire to 'live peacefully' (urip tĕntrĕm), though it is this second mode of approach which has been given more space in ethnography than the first. Circumstances in Java - or Yogyakarta at any rate - today point to the first as being equally, is not more, important; this may be an aspect of change; or giving place to metaphors; or an altered place of metaphors in certain parts of contemporary discourse. If it is not intended to take things literally when they were meant otherwise, it is also not intended to ignore undeniable stirrings of a fighting spirit which was also at the time linked to the fact of being and conversing in Yogyakarta.

The thinker, Ki Agĕng Suryamĕntaram,[18] who was, not coincidentally, uncle to Prince Suryobrongto, renounced title and position as part of his life struggle, and went to live in a village as a cultivator. He has written about rasa under the circumstances of conflict, and tries to deal with this duality of image. Distinguishing between fighting (berkelahi B.I.) and war with a cause (pĕrang; jihad, if God is the cause), he shows how the search for peace is an attempt to survive and transcend the contingencies of the material process (lair); if contradictions emerge

between the levels of availability and the desired, between the compromised and the rigorous, peace of mind can only be won by encompassing both the perspectives of lair and batin, not by rejecting one or the other (1978). To arrive at this is the true acceptance, an incorporation of both circumstance and sense, keeping one's bearings, without, perhaps, losing one's dreams.

Such thoughts overlap with the teachings of Taman Siswa,[19] and tend to come out in one of the factions which will be discussed below; contemporaneous discourse also exists with more overly socialist references in a Western style: forexample, that of Muhammadiyah (modernist Islamic social and educational association), if not in reference to the palace system of values as such - these references all shape the discourse of action and violence which exists in Yogyakarta today. The palace itself has already been described as a university; and like Western universities, has the ambivalent quality of at once being traditional and backward-looking, and also radical and anti-establishment; this much, at least, is implied in the material which follows.

Palace people in Yogyakarta today consider that palace dancing was a way of keeping the palace troops who also performed dance in physical training, given the Dutch restrictions on military activities in the Principalities (Ricklefs 1974). This training, done under a guise 'other' than its intention, may illustrate what is expressed as 'simbolik' (B.I.), less 'symbolic' than displaced, or dissimulated action. It has already been shown how dances are ranged on an abstract-dramatic continuum, and how the audience understands in a local model of communication, both elements endorsing this theme of concealment.

Fighting dances may therefore be understood as another kind of activity

being carried out in secret - an approved form of action in the ideal model. Again, the limits of a model which takes 'reading' and the revealed/revealing sign as its methodological banners, are exposed. The sense a Javanese may make of such performances is contingent upon the presuppositions and resources and has already been discussed. It is this variability in making sense by versions made up of such references and boundaries which is important. This is true bricolage: not an intellectist 'sense', but one which is circumstantial, ad hoc, and nominal, not easily pinned down to 'meanings'.

Given the requirements of musical measure, appropriate movement modes, etc., the fights might appear 'abstracted', removed from the naturalistic. However, it has already been explained that teachers exhort even performers of the 'abstract' Bĕdhaya to fight as if they meant it, with fire and vigour, looking their opponent in the eye. It is not alus here to be evasive; it is inappropriate.

Conventions of naturalism are not necessarily transculturally identical. In Indonesia since the 1940s, the indigenous fighting technique, Pĕncak Silat[20] has become highly popular and organised, as have other forms from Hong Kong and Japan. In Silat what might appear to be effective action, the destruction of one's rival in the shortest possible time, is not favoured. As in the dance forms, the more elaborate and contrived the movements and suspense building up to the final and brief moment of physical engagement, the better. Here conflict becomes anticipation and menace as much as the actual violence in which it culminates, to almost a non-climax (cf. Bateson's idea of the steady state 1973:80-100), and as such is closer to the style of fighting displayed by Arjuna, not his energetic rival, Cakil. In so far

as there is a climax, it is not dramatised, whereas the build-up is. In certain circumstances, Silat is used as a means to acquire suprahuman powers, although informants stressed that Silat should be distinguished from such ilmu kanoragan - breaking rocks and other physical feats - as well as from having ulterior motives (pamrih) to control one's opponent by means other than those recognised by the code. Some organisations are renowed for their dubious methods; and in most cases, the insidious control of one's adversary by mental strength does tend to come into practice at an advanced stage. The nature of this kind of concentration may not be too different from that advocated in Joged Mataram, whose principles, one might note, apply equally well to the requirements to do Silat well. One should also note that Silat is defensive, not offensive.

With regard to the notion of the end of a fight, and the ambiguity therein, lest readers be tempted to make contrastive statements, they are referred to the work of John Keegan, who has recently discussed problems of determining who has won a battle (1978): in medieval times, a herald was indispensable to the fact of victory. Without his pronouncement, victory and defeat would have lacked any sense. Actions require discursive framing to become significant.

In dance, then, the fighting section is brief, if also the most complex in terms of orientation. For this reason, possibly, Bĕdhaya uses only two basic sequences. Srimpi is more developed as the dramatic nature of the fight is identified as more central to this form. It is perhaps not coincidental that when the present Sultan was developing the new Golek Menak form, the choreographer who was finally selected to continue the work said that the Sultan had been struck by his fighting sequence, leading to his appointment to develop further choreographies.

Remembering my remarks concerning representation, the discussion above says something about the aesthetics of realism in Java. The 'unnatural' aspects of dance fights are less to do with their being 'staged', than with broader styles of appropriateness. Apart from dance today being classed for administrative purposes in the PDK with sport (which includes the martial arts), the two practices may be understood as mutually influential: courtiers were required to be skilled in dance and Silat; villagers who responded to HBVIII's advertisements for dancers may have gained experience in local mask forms, or else have trained in Silat under the local champion (jago).[21] One might recall the palace spirit of knowing yourself being ready to fight to the death.

It is therefore not enough to see in dance simply a political expression of deference to hierarchy and authority, or merely as partaking of an ethos of symbolic evasion. The identifications of the dance are as much to do with instrumental capacities to defend oneself (and one's household and community) as simply compensating for political impotence.

What to the untutored eye may look like painted fops toying with one another in fact may be two rivals fighting to the death. Given these associations, then, the observation that adiluhung should be translated other than as 'art' is reinforced. The dance fight in these terms also need not display any inconsistency with behavioural patterns and ideas about these, ranging from the pragmatic to the ideal.

If there is a literal competitive element to the dance in a violent mode, there is also a sense in which dance like sport is competition, as well as becoming a sign of competition between groups. Before turning to this style of action, it is necessary to consider a related theme in dance deriving from data discussed here, which bears on the action

represented as that being fit for a hero, and how this bears on ideas of identity in the Indonesian Republic today.

(iii) Heroes and Heirlooms

> Traditional Javanese historiography tended to schematize political change, forcing it into a rigid pattern based on the turn of a century. It seems possible that this schematization then had a reciprocal effect upon political behaviour which tended to fit the pattern. Events had been rewritten to become tradition and tradition moulded events to fit itself (Ricklefs 1974:176, my emphasis).[22]

Having considered the militaristic ethic, it is now time to look at an element which serves to give this ethic a particular significance, and which may be related to the process described by Ricklefs: that of the hero (pahlawan B.I.). It will be suggested here that heroes are structurally equivalent to heirlooms (pusaka), both being conjoined in a motivating image: that of lost objects which need to be found. This image has two references: to traditional ideas about heirlooms, which persist, and to a modern concern with heroes, which is linked to the question of identity, and which is referred back to the past.

In shadow play, some plots from the Mahābhārata are valued as being 'older' than others. These older plots invariably include the theme of the gaining of his rightful heirloom by the hero. In a similar vein, informants who discussed Yogyakartan history dwelt on how this Sultan obtained that heirloom; the presentation of the kĕris (Javanese dagger) Kyahi Jaka Piturun by HBVIII to the Prince Dorodjatun (subsequently HBIX) as a sign that he was selected as Crown Prince has already entered the sphere of modern legend (Mochtar 1982:37). Apart from the specific legitimising aspect of the kĕris in this case, the

general notion is that without his heirloom a hero is not yet complete, nor a man fully realised. The obtaining of a kĕris in a usual male's life cycle is hedged by special conditions: one should first dream of an old man giving one a kĕris before making a formal request to one's father to hand over a kĕris. This is a male-gender ideology. Women traditionally (and today those of high rank within the palace) used to carry small daggers (patrĕm: see Rassers 1982:285). These were not ascribed the abstract value of the kĕris, but were discussed in terms of action: for the preserving of her honour in the event of rape or loss of her husband, the action usually being self-destruction. The kĕris therefore has the capacity to express ideas of action ideologically - and with a noble identification (cf. Chapter VI, fn.54).

The shadow play is also understood as a prototype for what exists, a blueprint. The action of the play through the night is analogous to the communications of a mother with her child when it is still in the womb. At dawn, the audience is dispatched, having been given the hint by the dance of the golek puppet (a round puppet, a 'look-for-the-meaning' puppet, See Chapter III), to use the lesson of the night's events - lessons which, in the case of the older plays, have been 'passed down', and heirlooms in the sense that they are naluri (passed down).

Something which is passed down, an heirloom, carries prototypic value. While blood weakens as one is removed from the apical ancestor, heirlooms do not, although this could be qualified with the comment that they need to be fed - not just with arsenic and oil in the first months of the year (if a kĕris), but also with words, to keep them alive in the consciousness. They may also be supplemented by,

or, it has been argued, even displaced by new heirlooms which are more intensely charged with identifications: hence the suggestion of the usurpation in Yogyakarta of the Bĕdhaya and Srimpi heirlooms from Sultan Agung, by the Wayang Wong of HBI (Soedarsono 1984:232-3). None the less, these forms still carry considerable associations of power. The palace itself is a repository of heirlooms: not only objects - weapons, books, miscellania - but also information: women versed in the arts of mixing medicinal and cosmetic preparations which they had learnt from their mothers explained that these had, before independence, been restricted to the women's quarters of the palace, where their mothers had been employed.[23] Regalia (upacara) comprising eight objects in gold would accompany the king in battle, along with the bĕdhaya , until the reign of HBVII (Anderson 1972:n.14); the king's ritual procession at Garĕbĕg would also be characterised by these regalia, carried by manggung, girls who at other times would perform the Bĕdhaya and Srimpi dances (Groneman 1888:7ff , Plates I and II, and Illustration 68). Indeed, a powerful heirloom book, Kangjĕng Kyai Surya Raja Pustaka, a mythic history, was used by HBII when Crown Prince as the text for shield and arrow dances for women, rarely if ever performed today (Ricklefs 1974: 192).

The martial element in Bĕdhaya-Srimpi, as in the other forms which have come to be available to female dancers in the palace conventions, has already been remarked upon. It has also been suggested that there exists today a connection between these dance forms and the existence of a corps of female cavalry, the Langĕnkusuma, although the details of this corps remain uncertain.[24] While historical sources refer to the fighting capacity of women in other situations (Carey 1981:XLIII), the

heroic, active model of woman, exemplified by Srikandhi, valiant second wife of Arjuna who, like other women illustrated in dance form of the palace, fights for her man and menfolk and then on their behalf, may also be understood as being highlighted by contemporary policies and propaganda to activate the women in the burgeoning republic. It would be very wrong, therefore, merely to see in female dance training the instilling of feminine grace, beauty, and passivity. The dance is more appropriately identified with the participation of females in Silat training. This strengthens their muscles, improves their timing (both of which enhance their dance ability), and also gives them the capacity to defend themselves. If women in the past did not own kĕris, the women of today may see their models in the guise of dance heroines brandishing kĕris, bows and arrows, and most recently, in Golek Menak (and dance forms influenced by this), lances.

There is evidence then that the militaristic ethos of Yogyakarta is also evident in the Republican sphere, with the need to discourse upon both heroes and heirlooms being a symptom of today's rapidly changing circumstances.

The first President of the Republic, Sukarno, made use of identifications between aspects of the shadow play and political directives (Brandon 1974:291-2), and the three branches of the armed forces are still linked to characters in the play: for example, the airforce with Gathotkaca, the navy with Antasena.

But the hero is literal, as well as an ideal to be retrieved from the past (real or imaginary). November 10 is 'Heroes' Day', when fighters who died or survived the cause of independence are remembered, and some of the living are chosen to receive a hero's star

(bintang B.I.). Certain elements in Indonesian society question the grounds for such awards and there is a cynicism concerning their appropriateness. November 10, 1977, marked the start of widespread student unrest in the campus of Surabaya. The theme of this protest was "What has happened to the spirit of the Revolution?"

Inevitably, there is a discrepancy between rhetoric and actuality. Continuous rebellion may be a self-contradictory notion. Rebellion was the means to what became legitimacies in Yogyakarta, and later, in the Republic of Indonesia. Today, it is a spirit to be remembered, its action supposedly completed. The star of the hero is for those whose work helps to consolidate the Republic, not for those who see the need for further action of a radical kind. The preconditions for the Yogyakartan foundation (dasar) rest uneasily alongside those of the state constitution (dasar nĕgara), as laid down in the 'Five Principles' (Pancasila). The possibility of subversion, the imminence of cycles which repeat - revolutions, in fact - being manifested as rebellion or as a spiritual struggle, do however continue to provide an axis which counters any simple explanation of traditional models of heroism as merely being used in an attempt to legitimise present regimes.

The educators of the Republic seek figures to serve as models for character-building. Those in Yogyakarta who consider themselves abangan ('red': at times the style of self-declaration is almost like that of another self-identification as red), tend to cite historico-legendary subversives who subsequently became official rulers: Jaka Tarub, later Sultan Hadiwijoyo of Pajang; Ken Arok, who seized power in East Java; Ki Pĕmanahan who accidentally tricked his brother, Ki Agĕng Giring (by drinking the juice of a special young coconut, he

fathered the boy who became the founder of Mataram, Panembahan Senapati [Babad Tanah Jawi 1941:65-70]), or the heretics of Islam, such as Seh Siti Lĕmah. Schoolrooms display the portraits of Dipanĕgara, the Prince of Yogyakarta whose rebellion under the banner of Islam sparked off the Java War (1825-30); of RA Kartini, the young aristocrat from north central Java whose short life was spent struggling for women's right to education and who, say Indonesian women today, already liberated them over fifty years ago, "So we don't need women's lib, we already have it"; and of recent historical figures such as General Sudirman who led guerrillas in Central Java in the struggle against the Dutch following the declaration of independence.

It is important to notice certain aspects of this search for a hero, or for national models, in order to re-find, or make full sense of, the heritage which has been slowly forged into a unity from a mish-mash of historical accidents and rhetorical ingenuities. It is often said that the shadow play provides 'favourites': Gathotkaca used to be most cited, though recently it is Arjuna who is mooted as the new representation (lambang B.I.). (Brunet, n.d.; de Jong 1976). It turned out, however, that among those brought up to value the shadow play (i.e., those aged forty and over for the most part), that this popularity of a figure would be determined more by the skill of a particular puppeteer in manipulating the puppet in question, rather than any intrinsic characteristics. Gathotkaca happened to be the chosen identification of President Sukarno, which might account for his popularity at one time. Enquiries about who President Suharto sees himself as evinced the laughing reply, "As Sĕmar!"

This identification is amusing for several reasons. Sĕmar is one of the grotesques of the shadow play, a rounded, in some accounts hermaphroditic figure (though not in Yogyakarta), who together with three companions (classificatory 'sons'), comprises the group called punakawan (attendants), although Western commentators usually term them 'clowns'. Sĕmar in particular is a figure which commands a general kind of significance, if informant response in Yogyakarta may be claimed to be general, and has been described as a "mental paradigm" for and of the Javanese (Nakashima 1982:75).

In spite of this, when a conference was held in Yogyakarta in 1983 for ASEAN countries on the theme of "The Hero in South East Asian Literature", it was not Sĕmar but the hero of a series of picaresque romances, Paňji (Robson 1971), who was chosen. An abbreviated version of the argument was given at the Javanology Institute by the contributor to the conference, Professor Dra Siti Baroroh Baried, in which she explained Paňji's exemplification of the virtues of chivalry, purity, and loyalty, as the grounds for his selection (Baroroh Baried 1983).

Discussion following the paper revealed awareness of the desire to seek models from sources other than Indic ones (evident in shadow play references), although Paňji is also found in Thailand and China. Other comments referred to Paňji's lack of purity and loyalty: although he ends up with the right woman at the end, there is a fair amount of dalliance on the way. One might add that this is enjoyed in a hero. There is a tendency to stress Arjuna's 'laddish' qualities, and he is usually referred to as Janaka, the (false) etymology of which was said to be from jaka (bachelor); this is a somewhat different image from that of the mystically advanced Arjuna of the Bhaghavad-Gītā.

In this talk, then, this and also features of Paŋji's behaviour which he shares with other literary figures and mythico-historical figures such as the ones mentioned above, namely the actions of the trickster, tended to be ignored. Sĕmar, in spite of being attributed with wisdom and also a kind of divinity (Christian interpretation compares him to Christ), also partakes of this trickster role.[25] But unlike Paŋji and his ilk, Sĕmar does not end up in a position of legitimate authority (hence perhaps the real grounds of amusement at the President's identification). Sĕmar may mediate between heroes and gods in the shadow play, a role which has led some to see as establishing an identification between the punakawans and the Dutch (Ricklefs 1974:25-30 ; Soedarsono 1984:95) - but today what emerges most strongly about attitudes to Sĕmar is his relation to the figure in the shadow play who, in Yogyakarta at any rate, represents official authority, makes mistakes (i.e. is not absolute in spite of being legitimate), and is always good for a laugh: the figure is Bathara Guru. Two examples may illustrate this relation: firstly, in the lakon Rĕsi Dandang Seta, performed by Ki Hadi Sugito for an RRI broadcast (9 April 1983) in which Bathara Guru is thrown to the ground by Sĕmar who has changed shape (malih) into the white bird, Dandang Seta. On another occasion, the 17 August festivities in the community of Panĕmbahan within the fort, Ki Sugihadi Karsono performed the lakon Sĕmar Bangun Khayangan, in which the little 'clown' Gareng steals Bathara Guru's clothing, resulting in the hilarious spectacle of the puppet appearing as usual, but given movements to indicate his nakedness and his shame at this state. Given the controversy about modern 'changes' in shadow play and also the apparent interest of this particular theme among local puppeteers, one

should note also that this depends on its practitioners, who tend to be idiosyncratic and marginal (Keeler 1982), and, like the other representations discussed in this thesis, may vary in what is highlighted. Sĕmar in the versions cited, emerges very much as the critic of established authority, and also, one might notice, as an example of indirection.[26]

This requires elaboration. For the statement is made with more than reference to his use of words (he has no other 'heirloom', to my knowledge), although language codes are involved in what will be said - for Sĕmar raises certain points concerning the classificatory poles of alus and kasar. Sĕmar is not what he seems: seemingly grotesque, he has divine powers: one might recall how kings in Java and elsewhere kept in their courts grotesques - and clowns. Sĕmar and his followers also have special movements in both shadow play and dance, 'dancing peacock' (merak ngigĕl), distinct from the other modes. Maybe in the past their mediating capacity raised the identification with the Dutch. But today, the Korawa faction is referred to as 'sabrangan' (literally, 'overseas', but which, coming from a Javanese, tends to mean 'non-Javanese'). Rather than this identification, the punakawans seem to transcend the poles of alus and kasar. Inhabiting the forest, they can however enter courts, unlike Cakil, who of necessity has to engage in combat when a non-natural enters his domain. This also differentiates Sĕmar from being classed with figures such as Sukrasana, the young brother who is ugly, has magical communication with natural creatures, and who provides the means for his older, elegant brother Sumantri to go into the service of the king. Before this happens, in attempting to prevent his grotesque brother from accompanying him, Sumantri shoots

him by accident. The major difference between Sukrasana and Sĕmar is that in one version, 'Arjuna Sasrabahu', Sukrasana reincarnates as a negatively-framed ogre, who follows Rawana, and gains a somewhat ambivalent revenge over Sumantri who dies in the battle between the factions of the king and the ogres (Sunardi 1982:181ff.). Sĕmar is above and beyond such events, which would suggest that the bipartite classification offered by Pigeaud (1977) is inadequate here, or that a deferral of it is achieved by a transcendence or a unification of its elements.

If Sĕmar's role appears to be one relating to structures of inversion, it should be noted that the inversion tends in Yogyakarta to be favoured. If Sĕmar's exposure of the limits of legitimate authorities may show him to be not of the stuff that heroes are made, one might also note that he is self-sufficient, in spite of his role as adviser to Arjuna and the Pandhawas. In this sense he is like the image of the self, independent of patron from the perspective of batin, independent of ultimate determination by alus appearances. Sĕmar is both prototype and goal, the true hero of the 'whence and whither' of Javanese cosmogony. One could also say that being a mediator, but never attaining worldly effectiveness - he never does maintain his particular seat in heaven -

the Javanese in Yogyakarta may also feel that their own historical circumstances accord with this. Given the theme of indirection, to to make Sĕmar official hero would be to wipe out his capacity to express value and signify a certain kind of power.

Various terms for power in Java have led to controversy about its analytical constitution.[27] It is important to notice that there are different terms for power, some of which are descriptive, and bear on

effectiveness, and some of which are ascriptive, speaking more of evaluations than actualities: prabawa (authority), linked to an inner capacity, wibawa (wisdom), kĕkuwasaan (power), and sĕkti.

Sĕkti has already been mentioned as tied up in a nexus of knowledge and approval. It has been remarked that "knowledge is power" is more applicable to Java than to the West, given the notion of ilmu as a special spiritual power which inheres in both heirlooms and in individuals (Weiss 1979:265-6). The rationale of sĕkti, however, is perhaps explicable more in terms of heroes being the ones who just happen to win - and thus contrary to what has been said of the notion of alus in relation to power: "The ethics of halusness are at bottom the ethics of power" (Anderson 1972:45). Rather, it is the ascriptive recognition of the fulfilment of certain requirements, and the by-passing of the obstacle and ever-present sword of Damocles for the one in pursuit of glory, the charge of pamrih (self-interest), which must be understood to lie behind the idea of sĕkti, and, as already suggested, even behind the idea of alus. The argument has already been neatly presented. Among the Besemah of Sumatra, a man having access to heirlooms or to sejarah, which appears to be the intense negotiated past which naluri signifies in Java, . is trustworthy regarding his interpretations. If these utterances are accepted or come true, the man is said to have ilmu, which "...is clearly not meant to specify belief in some 'knowledge' or 'skill' or 'magic power' which a person might attain. Ilmu in these accounts rather seems to be the way the Besemah can exhort qualities of character and conduct in a man who can be taken seriously". The final stage, when "a man's every utterance has proof - when he is listened to and believed, then he has sakti" (Collins 1979:149). In Java, one

might add, a man tends to have sĕkti if he is absent or dead: absence making the power grow stronger, perhaps? In any case, the capacities of Sĕmar are decidedly superior to the powers of the faction which is legitimate, alus, and less clever than the one who goes for higher things, and risks all for sĕkti: official heroes are not of this ilk. It has been remarked that administrative changes brought about a separation of sĕkti from kekuasaan (B.I.) (Nakamura 1983:43-4). Analyses of such terms are of course contingent on circumstances, and it has also been suggested by some that sĕkti itself may be seen as a manifestation of pamrih, possibly a sign of a shift in the identifications of that term today. The related idea of wahyu has also been cited as being 'the good luck to be chosen', not any essential receiving of magical power or grace. Indeed, one informant's narrative about how he came to acquire a reputation for having sĕkti clearly illustrated the point made here regarding ascription.[28]

While an idealised representation of power including sĕkti is attributed to kings (thus making of them heroes), this history is not the exclusive one. Most Yogyakartans were capable of describing the shortcomings of their Sultans: HBII was weak, HBIII was wicked, HBV was mad; HBVII miserly; HBI in general was spared criticism. The existence of the notion of pamrih also serves to explain aberrations from ideal models: Sultan X failed/was murdered/had to abdicate on account of seeking his own interests, not those of his people. Today, self-interest may be at odds with the principle of rukun, and used to the same moral explanatory end. Pamrih may also be understood as a driving, dynamic element, both in historical and moral discourse, if not the one to which order is attributed. It might also be noted here

that people in Yogyakarta are not naive about the way history may vary. One informant spoke of there being two historical lines: one which deals with things Islamic, the other which accounts for the 'old Mataram' period of construction of the great temples of Central Java.

The ethos of militarism specified for the Yogyakartan style to a certain extent may be seen to be congruent with that of the Republic, and the role of the armed forces in maintaining order. But there is also a sense of emancipation from the power centre of Jakarta. The observation made of Yogyakarta reactions to the installation of the Indonesian government in Yogyakarta in 1946 and subsequent appointment of a leader from West Java sums up local attitudes as well as revealing something about strategies adopted by Javanese when confronted by the undesired: "There was no demonstration of overt rejection, but neither was there any enthusiasm to co-operate." (Selosoemardjan 1962:80). There is even a feeling that Yogyakarta will yet again lead the way in active struggle, not just develop metaphorical systems which shift away from historical circumstances of rebellion. People speak of secret pacts between Yogyakarta and Surakarta against the Dutch up to the time of the Java War (though Anderson has pointed out that Dipanĕgara was not in rebellion against the Dutch as a collectivity. He wanted to conquer Java for himself, not liberate it from a colonial power [1983:19, fn.4]). Whether the dancing was acknowledged to be fighting in secret at the time in the nineteenth century is beyond knowing today. But the idiom of revolt is present and reads across time to seek out identifications and structures of repetition which overcome chronological difference - in much the same style that the dating of manuscripts referred to in the opening remarks by Ricklefs was managed. This will have certain

implications for the Javanese attitude to 'Indonesia', as will be seen below, and also formsone side of a polarisation of strategies concerning dance production today. However, there remains one case which will serve to consolidate the drift of argument here, and demonstrate how an investment of personal identity and value in heirlooms from a place still carries weight and the power to fuel conflict: the reference is to a cultural dispute between Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

(iv) ...and then the Books were Lost...[29]

The theme of the lost book has already come up in connection with interpretations. Here it may appear incidental, but is an important if understated element in the plot which will concern us. The question which fuels the polemic is simple: which is more original? the now defunct Bĕdhaya Sĕmang of Yogyakarta, or the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang of Surakarta?

The partition of the kingdom following 1755 has generated a political and ideological division in Yogyakarta and Surakarta which still feeds all kinds of mutual criticisms.[30] As a Surakartan who makes his living selling Surakartan-style saté in Yogyakarta, said, "Take ten people in Surakarta: seven'll be alright, three'll be bad; take ten people in Yogyakarta: three will be alright, and seven bad". The Yogyakartans go in for general mudslinging, with an intensification of indignation concerning sexual practices in the neighbouring court town, and the scandalous practice of the 'complete becak'.[31] The situation is said to have been aggravated by President Sukarno's open preference for Surakartan-style dancing, resulting in the situation summed up by a Surakartan artist living in Yogyakarta: "Yogya is on the defence; and Surakarta is hurt". The conflict is chiefly concerned with the

respective value of two sets of things passed down (naluri) which are compared competitively, and uses history to this end, rather than seeking out any objective narrative: this case takes one up to the neck of the interpretive woods.

The division of dance forms from the Kasunanan in Surakarta following the division of the kingdom is less clear than what happened to the gamĕlan (Freeland 1985:38). This lack of clarity culminates in a cluster of strange contentions concerning the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, which is unique, both musically and for the circumstances of its performance. One line is that the Susuhunan said he was tired of all the old forms, and that Mangkubumi was welcome to the lot of them; Surakarta would be only too glad to have a new set of artefacts in the palace. (This, it should be noted, fits with Surakarta's modern reputation as being more innovative in its classical forms than is Yogyakarta.) The other line is that HBI, active in choreographic practices in the Surakartan palace, turned his attention to creating new forms for the Kasultanan, or at any rate restructured their spirit in order to revive that of the lost ethos of Mataram.[32] The exception to these was the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, which in Yogyakarta, the convention goes, was replaced by HBII, and attributed to him in manuscripts, though in the palace today, the oldest extant copy of Sĕmang lyrics dates from AD 1836 (ms B23, Widyabudaya). It is possible, given the kind of occasion for which prestigious forms were devised, that the first performance would have been for HBII's coronation. Another surmise is that the dance called Bĕdhaya Pusaka Sumbrĕg ('heirloom' Bĕdhaya), with lyrics concerning HBI's victory over his former ally Mas Said, might have been the prestige Bĕdhaya until the creation of the Sĕmang (in ms B24 Widyabudaya AD 1854; in the previously mentioned ms, the dance is termed 'Sumbrĕg' only).[33]

However, there is also current in Yogyakarta the story that it is the Sĕmang, not the Kĕtawang, which was created by Sultan Agung, as told in the Sĕrat (Babad) Nitik.[34] The Kĕtawang, they say, is merely the kĕtawang section (it being a musical term as well as a dance name) of the Sĕmang: the only remaining part of the original, because in Surakarta, the books were lost. A musician from Yogyakarta was given to saying before his death that the two kĕtawang sections of both accompaniments are the same (though not the lyrics). The Surakartans of course vigorously deny this, saying that Kĕtawang (O.J. 'sky') refers to the celestial origin of the dance - an alternative version to the watery origins of the Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul association.

In spite of there having been an attempt in Yogyakarta in 1972 on 12 December (the date Mangkubumi was enthroned as first Sultan , Ricklefs 1974:54), based on reconstructions from palace manuscripts from 1877 containing music, lyrics, and dance sequences (written as in Appendix 2), it was unfortunately impossible to revive this dance once and for all.[35] My suspicion, having attended the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang in rehearsal and performance, is that the two are different.

Although the Sĕmang is no longer performed, it still inspires gut fears. An assistant working on the plan to compare versions contracted stomach cramps after making a copy of a recording, which he did having made offerings, burning incense to pacify any offended spirit. The lady responsible for the choreography said that such preparations would also require her to wash her hair first; and she refused to handle any material related to the project during her menstruation. Dancers also had to be free from this ritually impure condition during rehearsals and performance; this was one reason given for the introduction

of males to perform it (see above). Reasons for the cessation of the dance in 1914, preceded by only a few rehearsals, are unclear. Whether it was the war, the death of the Crown Prince, or finances, one cannot know. Some claim that the superstitious references of the dance had become redundant, although the ample offerings made in 1972 as well as attitudes about the revival suggest these did not die out. Possibly loss through deaths of those with the knowledge to produce it (as threatens the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang, particularly the singing) is the most plausible explanation. The secret was maintained, and contact with two surviving male performers during fieldwork was prevented, on the grounds of their senile condition. The revival in the 1970s is said to have failed as a result of lack of expertise, and also due to the prohibitive cost of the offerings needed;[36] also because of a reluctance of senior personnel to continue the project, on the grounds of simple fear.

Dance exchanges between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, like marriage exchanges, are muted. Paku Buwana X asked for a Yogykartan Wayang Wong three times, as well as for Bĕksa Lawung and Etheng, said informed informants. The Paku Alaman court in Yogyakarta has a dance style closer to that of Surakarta, as the Mangkunĕgaran tends towards Yogyakartan style. However, according to Prince Suryobrongto, when five Wayang Wong teachers went there at the Prince's request to train his dancers in the Yogyakarta style, the attempt failed apparently because of the dancers' lack of concentration and lack of strength to do the leg movements for the Yogyakarta 'strong' modes.

Manuscripts used to support arguments about difference and origins tend to be undated, and as such, may express backward projected formulations. The conflict is about ideologies, not essences. As

Prince Suryobrongto himself pointed out, notwithstanding his vehement support of the Yogyakartan ethos, Joged Mataram can be applied even to Surakartan dance style.

(v) Dance: A Means to Compete

> Roll up your sleeves and get down to the struggle (Siswa Among Bĕksa 1982:7).
>
> In any tradition it is not the facts, the 'cold' facts, which are the truth, but how people see the facts, how people interpret them in accordance with their traditional way of life, and finally how people absorb them into their warm blood so that they become a part of their lives; that is indeed the truth (de Vries n.d.:16).

The two frameworks, of difference and continuity, serve to contain the various affiliations and arguments cited in this study, often in reaction to one another. If formal education is bringing about changes in the transmission of knowledge, naluri still carries the sense that its import is passed down from person to person, the identifications it carries being thus personal. If the kind of history this presupposes tends not to be causal, evolutionary, or Marxist, it is none the less a view (or views) of the past which includes a sense of its own fictiveness; and as such, may be less deluded than other histories claiming more objectivity. To complete the discussion which has considered fractionation, idioms of violence and chivalry, and present attitudes to and uses of history, we shall consider the way these topics both presuppose and legitimise certain strategies which may be identified in contemporary production and practices of the Kasultanan dance style.

A common charge by modernists is the feudal ('feodal' B.I.) values inhering in forms such as Wayang Wong. While noting here that 'feodal' is used with the sense of 'hierarchy'[37] there is also current an emphasis on the circumstances of the production of Wayang Wong which counters this suggestion: the ethos is given an egalitarian perspective, suggesting more the feel of a barracks, with comradeliness and common endeavour, not a stiffly implemented hierarchy, being the feeling. The special levelling which is unique to bagongan, the court language, is also cited as an example to spare the palace from imputations of feudalism; it was also said that HBIX instructed that any speech in Golek Menak should employ bagongan words, in order for it to become used outside the kraton (as I did not see any productions of Golek Menak with dialogue, I cannot verify this). Furthermore, if princes tended to dance the main roles in Wayang Wong (Groneman 1899), a good dancer of lower birth and rank would not be excluded. Informants recalled sitting on the floor while people of actual lower status had chairs within the dance practice. However, there is no record of high status people taking low status roles such as attendants and the like; flexibility is an option for the high status group.

Communality, not fractionation, was stressed by informants. They noted the sharing of food, food being given by role, and the organisation of dance personnel by the one who danced the faction leader on the stage. In this instance, dance hierarchy provided the means to organise real logistics, no mean feat with the numbers involved, which might be up to one thousand, including helpers. The occasions for production, when coinciding with Garebeg, would endow the drama with something of the political message of, in the case of Mauludan, having to attend: not

to was tantamount to rebellion (Moertono 1968; Nakamura 1983). While in one instance Wayang Wong acts as a kind of meta-commentary on existing political and social systems, there is also an aspect which denies the primacy of legitimising feudal structures. If this is reminiscent of dual processes of structure and anti-structure developed in the work of Turner (1974), there is also a difference from this analytical tool, which derives mainly from the capacity to incorporate or subsume one perspective to another, in the lair-batin style. It would not be accurate to make any identification between lair and 'structure' and batin and 'communitas', particularly given the idiosyncratic inwardness of the batin tendency. These two perspectives bear on various areas in ways tabulated in Appendix 6. The ambivalence also of the shadow play and its references in other forms, in its carrying multiple senses and not simply propagandist dogma may also be understood as endorsing not only the palace, but the traditional (for which the palace today stands though the shadow play is autonomous of it structurally) not only as an option, but a zone of incorporation. In other words, there is representation of total social action, including conflict and reconciliation, but the latter is formal and temporary. If the use of plots originating from the Mahābhārata, and the endemic practice of gambling at card-tables throughout the performances under HBVIII and before are noted, then Held's suggestive albeit controversial discussion of these two elements in terms of potlatch (1935) might also elucidate the Wayang Wong's capacity to encapsulate the various processes of factional mistrust under the guise of putting aside differences in an extravagant act of conspicuous consumption. This is not so different from the inferences of the community sĕlamĕtan exchange feasts.

The characteristic of exclusion as a defining feature of palace-identified elements has also, however, been stressed. Till recently, such things alone were described as traditions: things which are of value, noble, esteemed (adiluhung) are completely different from things which are exchanged as commodities (barang).

This contrast is a matter of contemporary opinion rather than 'fact'. Although dance was conceived as service, done for honour, not profit, like palace service today, such honour did carry social status, and in some cases material advancement. Dancers of both sexes made advantageous marriages. Indeed, it was one bĕdhaya's execution of the nglayang (flying) movement that enchanted HBVII to the extent that he took her to be a secondary wife (garwa ampeyan); her sons were also active in dance (Wibowo 1981:210). In these terms there is continuity, even if the content of the exchanges is different.

The feeling of social climbing still clings to the palace dances, though again the fear of being accused of pamrih makes this unutterable in the present, as in the past. And so adiluhung is preserved, in spite of the facts of life.

The fight in dance continues, then, to coincide with a fight for status in both personal and political terms, though the designation 'traditional' mutes this aspect. Change has occured in patronage, from the Sultan, to the government. Until 1939, dancers danced for the Sultan's eye, particularly HBVIII whose eye was harsh. Wayang Wong dancers spoke of 'cheating', moving 'normally' when out of the Sultan's sight but still visible to the audience, who, like the public in Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, would in the meantime be watching the nobles seated on the stage itself (in Wayang Wong they would be behind

but above it). If dancers today have to satisfy a focus which is less present or defined, one should remember that the Sultan himself owes allegiance to and has one eye on the President of the Republic.

As shown above, informants viewed dance interest as a feature of palace officials of the inside (jĕro), who were military men as well as clerks. Sutherland has also pointed out that after AD 1900, it was less dancing (tandhak) and hunting that priyayi needed to cultivate for career interests, than horse-racing and tennis (1979:43). There is a case for the enforced patronage of the dance by local administrators under the Dutch as one aspect of colonial repression, as well as dance being done instead of actual military manoeuvres and training. However, there is also a tendency today (which began with nationalistic movements) for dance to be identified with the lost glories of the past, and instilled with the idea of expressing, secretly, values which would aid the cause - one might notice that this is somewhat different from the 'crystallisation' of the nineteenth-century palace and a strictly priyayi project (contra Sutherland 1975:60).

In 1952, a massive theatrical production by Sri Murtono in front of the Kasultanan was done in a similar spirit, not to revive feudalism, but to counter the influence of Western films and so forth (Soemargono 1979: 102). That Yogyakarta's ruling hierarchy originated from revolt, and the much spoken of respect of the Yogyakartan aristocrat of the common man (who will be addressed, it is said, in polite krama, not familiar ngoko, which shows the disrespectful familiarity which is the practice of the Surakartan aristocracy), strengthens this particular rhetorical line. It conceals within 'the traditional' the activist, and the grounds for action based not on pamrih but a glorious past

and its heroes, who can be retrieved only if there is a transition from discursive references and identifications to personal action.

It would seem that the distant and perhaps archaic appearances of palace dance identifications did not merely serve to endorse the legitimate status of the king and regime, although the absence of easily recognisable language would have assisted such a goal, but also allowed the potential of dissimulated action as subversion of a political nature to suggest itself. This might also explain the tendency to exclude masks within the palace. Apart from allowing the dance-qualities of the dancer to show, it would also allow those in power to know (literally, by seeing) who their friends were; (the image of the mask does become complicated in view of the value placed upon control and dissimulation in addition to sincerity). Sensitivities of this kind persist. A recent Indonesian film about the Java War (Nopember 1828, released mid-1979), shows a Dutch commander narrowly escaping assassination at the hands of a masked dancer. The arguments in Chapter VII also indicate the extent to which unleashed action is feared, once the appearances break down - which, of course, they do. One might notice in this connection, then, that such potential energies and disruptions are channelled into competitive events for dance forms and styles, organised by the PDK - as if to channel what otherwise would break out, as implied in the Yogyakartan dance discourse, and move into affecting real life in no small way. The regime legitimises dance contests to save itself from becoming the object of a different kind of contest.[38]

If dance's silence may be its danger, it is also perhaps its advantage over other theatrical forms which are spreading today where

verbal aspects are more important than in palace forms: for example, Indonesian situation dramas (Sandiwara), and history plays (Kĕthoprak) done in Javanese language and costume, also using movements and conventions which are identifiable as being in the traditional mode. Both of these are much televised, on local and national networks.

There is much interest among young and older people in Yogyakarta in these theatre forms and others, but it is often difficult to obtain permission to perform from the local police and security sectors - particularly, as in my community, such groups had been associated with the Bengkel Theatre, a workshop run by the outspoken poet and dramatist, Rendra. Verbal drama is an overt threat to stability. But, if for this reason different dance styles are enthusiastically promoted by the PDK, newer theatres thrive in delimited communities; for example, in an Islamic community (pĕsantren) where one of Rendra's boys generated an interest during his retreat there, or in local universities, where even traditional forms are used to carry quite unequivocally satirical messages. Kĕthoprak has been revived since the general elections of 1971, and in recent years has also been promoted by means of PDK-sponsored competitions and local arts committees. Perhaps not surprisingly, within Yogyakarta more often than not it is the palace community (RK Kraton) which wins; many with palace connections are either uninterested in dance forms, or tired of in-fighting, and have seen Kĕthoprak as another way of fostering and promoting their naluri. If the themes of Kĕthoprak tend towards the heroic, in the style of the shadow play and Wayang Wong, they also touch on matters which Sandiwara treats centrally in a more mundane and naturalistic fashion (usually around the ubiquitous carved wooden coffee table): those

life-crises everyone in Java is familiar with, marriage choices and, particularly critical, inheritance disputes.[39]

The range of performance which gains sponsorship from the PDK may be illustrated by the events held at Sĕkaten night-market in 1983, one of a series of 'arts and sports events for primary schools' held that year. The programme consisted of gamĕlan and traditional songs (tĕmbang); a 'new creation' of Arjuna's Wedding (Arjuna Wiwaha); morning exercises (senam pagi B.I.), a hobbyhorse dance duet; regional and popular songs of Indonesia accompanied by bamboo xylophones (kolintang: a recent rage); floor exercises (senam lantai B.I.); exercises in rhythm (senam irama B.I.); Slawatan, a traditional form with Islamic associations (Pigeaud 1938:315; Soedarsono 1976).

It should, of course, be stressed that there are, as anywhere, people who take no interest in performance, who also disaffiliate themselves from their backgrounds. For example, the woman who was raised in the Kauman (where santri live) by her parents, her father being a low-ranking inner palace official, who used to assist her grandmother with food preparations for big palace occasions (with a woman whose success in the fried chicken business has impelled her to set up a trah organisation [Sairin 1982:34]). On the death of her uncle, a former soldier of the Kĕtanggung corps who left his land to her, she converted to Christianity, and set up as an entrepreneur. During fieldwork she declared curtly that "In town there are activities (kegiatan B.I.) not rituals (upacara B.I.)", and predictably, disapproved strongly of my research. However, more traditionally inclined youngsters also pointed out that interested parties are being lured away by the added attraction of novelties on television and cinema, who prefer

American or Hong Kong naluri to their own, or who go to the fashion-cum-dance extravaganzas produced by a successful Chinese businessman in town, such as those performed by a group called Glass and Dolls, with titles such as 'One night in Tokyo'. Islamic people who disapprove of palace traditions also have their own dance forms in mosques and Islamic centres, although a 'white' palace official connected to the mosque will open a dance performance in the palace with a prayer (do'a).

Palace dance, then, is under competition from other performances and entertainments. This chapter will therefore close with a brief discussion of the circle of interest in palace dance forms today, and the lines of factions and discourses which devolve upon them. Remarks will be made about participation and patronage, including the audience.

(vi) Defining Authenticity

> Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the Rhetorician to proclaim their unity (Burke 1969:22)
>
> People in power get to impose their metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:157).
>
> Of course/You need a sense of place/
> What's the scene/For who/For what/
> The mobilising of the dance?
> Suit it/Scene it/Story/Shape and/
> Style it.
> The best/You can.
> Right...OK...shoot (Wisnu Wardhana 1983).[40]

The networks for palace dance production have already emerged in the course of this study, but certain things remain to be said.

The main cross-cutting identification within the production of palace dance by palace personnel comes from the governmental arts

administration followed closely by local arts committees (see Table 1). This creates divisions of interests, as noted by the lady well established within a contemporary dance dynasty, who complained that one palace grandson was promoting his professional PDK interests at the expense of those of the palace-founded dance organisation he heads. In this organisation (Siswa Among Bĕksa), palace kinship links play an important role, and it is supported by a sister-in-law to the Sultan, whose husband founded the organisation, by his son, and a number of palace grandchildren and affines. The widow is also one of the main choreographers of female palace dance forms; like another such widow, she also organises and attends the Sunday morning practices.

It has already been said that palace dance events draw their performers from all the Yogyakartan arenas for classical dance; in this way the palace sustains its incorporative capacity, albeit provisionally: dissent is unleashed once outside its grounds, if not before. A contemporary Wayang Wong fragment will reveal the massed ranks of dancers and their levels of professional success and seniority. Gods are usually heads of sections or esteemed teachers, the inexperienced may be demons and attendants, and the more talented youth portraying the small-framed roles. Often being well connected, they have had access to intensive training, although people who have gained experience through dedication as much as family encouragement also do well. This shows that one's background circumstances need not obstruct, although good connections assist, a mastery of the dance. People today do not keep to one role as in the old ways (Suryobrongto 1981:81-2). The roles of Sĕmar and Bathara Guru had become associated with several individuals, though not without challenge.

The chief contending organisation (PBN), draws its participants from school children and students of mixed backgrounds, though the musicians and some teachers are palace officials, and certain palace sons show enthusiasm in supporting it, often overlapping with an interest in promoting tourism, as this organisation is involved in catering for tourists. The rivalry between these two organisations apparently became bitter and divisive subsequent to the stipulation for participating in a European tour on which only those with blood ties to the Sultan could go, not officials and their descendants. For the most part participation in the two groups is mutually exclusive, though the two merge both in the palace and in the government dance academies.

Each organisation cricises the other with reference to 'authenticity', and 'interest' respectively. SAB aims at restoring the dances to their authentic forms, and conducts research into palace libraries and revives the results: for example, dances for male quarters, such as Bĕksa Guntur Sĕgara and Bĕksa Tugu Wasesa, both attributed to the reign of HBI (Siswa Among Bĕksa 1982:26-34). They also aim to keep the Bĕdhaya and Srimpi forms 'authentic' and 'real' (sungguh B.I.), 'as of old' (kuna, asli), and to purify the palace style. They also produce fragments of Wayang Wong - not Sendratari - Golek Menak, Langĕndriya - the entire palace repertoire, in fact, but with little emphasis on the Golek solo dance.

The leader of PBN considers it 'boring' for dancers always to have to do such similar things, that choreographies should be made 'interesting'. This has made him very popular, not only with his students from the dance academy where he teaches, although his success in terms of followers and material gain has generated jibes along the lines that he is "too

clever by half" (kumintĕr), though others often cited him as an example of rigor concerning keeping to the traditions where music was concerned. Some say his style is stiff, removed from the classical 'foundations', as he innovates new movement sequences, borrows Surakartan-style movements, and gives male features to some female movements. Dancers and teachers from the other organisation who trained in a Bĕdhaya with him for the palace claim that he puts more elements and foot movements per musical phrase than they considered normal. When I asked why he does not call his dances 'new creations', he looked annoyed, and snapped that the dances "looked classical and the audience wouldn't know they weren't", the audience being for the most part tourists from overseas and outside Java or Yogyakarta. This organisation presents Sendratari dance fragments, and trains in the same forms as the other organisation, but with an emphasis on the Golek form. Like the other organisation it also does archival research, publishes texts about dance, and issues recordings of musical accompaniments to dances.

In so far as palace forms have always evolved, there might appear to be no contradiction in the PBN ethos. However, the polarisation between the two organisations, compounded by habit and envy, has resulted in what used to be an easy-going incorporativeness having become an urgent competitiveness to produce the essentially 'original' forms - perhaps with more pressure from SAB. At the same time, the performances aimed at pleasing tourists and diverting the dancers do not necessarily come up to palace standards; Prince Suryobrongto said in a gloomy, nostalgic mood that no one could dance like the old dancers any more. The notion of dance as completing an evening's entertainment, or as a decorative memory for a tourist to take home, or

as needing to 'interest' the performer, is anathema to the spirit of Joged Mataram, which originates from one who tended to the SAB pole; the moralistic, not the aesthetically 'interesting'.

The atmosphere which prevails at the two organisations in training at senior levels also indicates their differences. SAB is relaxed, usually quite well attended, the female teachers tend to exchange items (sheets or handbags) in credit schemes, there is ample tea, gossip, and in general the feeling that people are at home (krasan) in what they are doing. Indeed, they are informal to the extent that they are with friends and relatives. The other organisation attracts many foreign students, but its senior level is suffering at the cost of its pushing first-level training; it is often poorly attended, and the mood is slightly chilly. The ethos of the first organisation is similar to that prevailing among palace officials who under Japanese occupation declared themselves 'dance-makers' (tukang tari B.I.), unlike the palace personnel who had been active in setting up and developing Kridha Bĕksa Wirama (the first academy), who were eager to register themselves as "artists".

If the two organisations as described tend to show on the one hand the idea of adiluhung and on the other that of modern artistry, it should be noted that such distinctions do require more than one pinch of salt: while one hears much bad about KBW today (it being around no longer to defend itself), when one palace dance teacher showed his dance examination certificate, affiliations turned out to be rather more integrated than today's factions would make out: the examiners for his KBW exam in 1936 were the Princes Suryadiningrat and Madukusuma (Mangunkusuma ?) and Atmosuprapto (palace dance teacher). At the SAB examinations in 1955,

the same three examiners presided. As in other areas, it is a recent bitterness which eats deep into the ideas of the past.

KBW did however initiate fault lines in any idea of palace unity - and some claimed that the organisers were seeking political power, and wanted to be able to produce the Wayang Wong as a sign of this. KBW also tended to introduce certain Western theatrical ideas: Prince Tedjokoesoemo created the Langen Tirta dance, based on the movements of animals in the 1950s (Wisnu Wardhana 1981:214).

However, KBW and the first Indonesian-organised classical dance organization in Yogyakarta, Irama Citra, were instrumental in opening dance forms to women. And KBW also brought back the masked drama, though this has slipped again in Yogyakarta, apart from the solo masked Klana Topeng.

There is a move now to standardise palace dance, instigated by the SAB (with the encouragement of the Ministry for Education and Culture). SAB's claim to authenticity masks this duality of interest, as variations introduced by KBW where many of today's influential teachers trained (if they did not go on also to SAB afterwards in the 1950s), have created some confusion about standards of a nominal kind. It reached the point in 1982 where SAB held a 'Javanese seminar' for three days to discuss this question of standardisation (as this occurred before fieldwork, it is unclear what the range of participation from other groups was). At the same time, ASTI, the tertiary dance academy, had already produced a dictionary of terms in dance and music (Soedarsono et al. 1978), but which failed to be definitive and comprehensive.[41] Whether as a result of the seminar, or other reasons, Theresia Suharti, in charge of female classical Yogyakartan dance at ASTI, is now attempting to bring

the ASTI forms of Sari Tunggal, Srimpi, Golek Lambangsari Wĕtah, and some Bĕdhaya in line with what SAB and palace choreographers would claim to be standard (baku B.I.). Talk of 'standard' should not be allowed to conceal the important feature of Javanese dance, which is that each dancer, once trained, brings his or her own qualities to the performance, and also his or her own physical proportions. The spirit is also beyond the reach of standardisation in any pedagogic manner, though some modernists speak derisively of its stereotyping. Given the importance of minute details in Javanese representations, though, it is clear from watching different organisations and schools that there are emerging quite different basic styles: the fluid, softer SAB/palace style, and the more angular, shoulder back (blades together: palace shoulder blades fall softly to each side) of PBN and some academies, for instance, and some movements illustrated in the photographs (see Illustrations 51-4), are some examples of a case for general parameters being restored, without being overly mechanical and reductive.

Patronage is more altered than form and execution, as already suggested. The PDK patronage of the arts includes both aforementioned organisations and the palace arts section in its list of subsidies (1983). As noted, the head of Yogyakartan PDK is also in charge of the arts section in the palace, though his nephew is more active. Private sponsorship is also important. During fieldwork, an important new patron emerged, whose rise provides one case of such a phenomenon. First a palace compound (dalĕm) within the fort, the Purubayan, was purchased, apparently under somewhat dubious circumstances, and having been hidden behind a fence for some months, emerged resplendent in predominantly blue. In Yogyakarta the colours are mostly white, yellow,

red, and green; anyone will tell you that blue is for Surakarta. The next thing was the owner's righthand man coming to SAB rehearsals and video-taping performances. SAB then started to hold some of their training sessions not in the charming if slightly shabby pĕndhapa at the Purwadiningratan, but in the very shiny, highly-restored pĕndhapa belonging to someone who happens to be brother to the Indonesian President, who also married into the Sultan's family, and was said to have given five million rupiah to SAB. A General reputedly had sponsored this organisation previously to the tune of four-and-a-half million rupiah, to replace their somewhat balding garudha birds. It appears that members of SAB in classes two and three who train in this newly-restored pĕndhapa have been given a new name: Among Bĕksa Wirama.

Patronage is now breaking through networks based on kinship and residence - but rather than the Yogyakartan ranks closing in the face of the outsider, the receiving organisation congratulates itself, in appropriately diminished strains, while other interested parties hedge their bets, and wait.[42]

Patronage also implies audience interest. For palace-identified performances, as might be expected, motives are other than aesthetic ones, more often as support for a participating relative or friend. Palace audiences also comprise a small commercial sector of tourists. The absence of consistent and absorbed attention in audiences from other parts of Indonesia is frequently commented on (see Hood 1963 on Bali, for example), but although I noticed marked inattentiveness in performances and also speeches addressed to large gatherings in East Java (1977-8), Yogyakartan audiences for dance appear to have a new and rather unexpected capacity to concentrate - this may be to do with

habits acquired in front of the television, or even in the classroom. At shadow play performances, there is usually a marked exit after midnight, and sporadic snoozing until four or five o'clock in the morning when the action is coming to a climax. Accounts of palace audiences in the 1920s also suggest that longer dance performances stimulated variable attention, although Western guests would arrive for the start and wear themselves out with polite concentration (van Helsdingen Schoevers 1925; Holt 1967). There is still, however, in spite of increased concentration, also affected by shorter durations of performances (boasted by some to be a sign of the times, deplored by others as debilitating the traditions), a sense in which participating as a member of the audience, whether one pays attention, goes along for a quiet gossip and waits for the fights and the 'clowns' (often the musical signals for the close of fight confrontations and the entrance of the clowns are impossible to resist), there is still a sense that one is bearing witness to an event which expresses identifications with which one shares. While novelty is attractive, and events such as 'One night in Tokyo' are packed out, there is still a feeling that audiences like to know what they are being shown.[43] Suspense in the unfolding of plot or narrative is secondary (if important at all) to the way it is executed. The excitement over the 'new creation' dances, hoped in the 1960s to furnish the 'Indonesian culture', has given way to disappointment and scepticism. As one musician said of these works, "No one knows what standards to judge them by; now he [Bagong] takes them from Kalimantan, so nobody knows if they are good or what". Audiences like to know what they are being shown; they can then identify what they do not like. Palace audiences made up of performers tend to show approval at the time,

and sharp critical views afterwards. If the communication described in relation to the spirit of Joged Mataram is collusive, it is not complacent about execution. The contents of the collusion are also minimally defined - such is the power of a medium which is not dependent on language, and also its capacity to be beyond political manipulation per se. Used by political machines it is, but it is not accounted for by them; its use persists in being elusive.

Between the years 1969-71, the poet Rendra observed somewhat caustically that the 'new Javanese' contemporary culture, including the classical dance traditions, could easily become "an old mattress for the people to sleep on", and enjoined a return to the "independent spirit of Ranggawarsita, of Ken Arok, of Kartini", rather than the 'coy' (kĕnĕs) style of the nineteenth century.[44] While it is curious that he uses a term (kĕnĕs) emphatically cited as the kind of thing Joged Mataram does not condone, it is also pertinent to the theme of this study that in the fifteen years or so which have elapsed since the original publication of the articles, not only has the spirit of the dance been elaborated in discourse and print along these lines, but also, that the term 'traditional' has been extended to include forms outside the palace. At the same time, however, 'new creation' experimenters such as Wisnu Wardhana have been returning to the conventions of palace forms as their chief choreographic reference. It is perhaps not so far-fetched for educationalists affiliated to the Taman Siswa system to murmur that they have a definitive influence on central policies - not only in the Ministry of Education, where the line in 1983 was "We need an education for the sense (rasa)", but also in the PDK, where the search for a new Republican culture has been given up in favour of "local peaks"

(puncak daerah B.I.): originally an idea put forward by the founder of Taman Siswa, Ki Hadjar Dewantara.

This leads to a final observation.

Prior to the declaration of independence, palace dancing provided one part of ceremonies and receptions attended by VIPs in the form of high Dutch dignitaries. Today, instead, it is foreigners who swarm into the palace, gaining less show of respect, but welcomed for the revenues they bring. While the government seeks to increase revenues brought in by tourism, and while the Kasultanan struggles to maintain its fabric by devising new money-making promotions, problems arise with regard to local attitudes to forms which hitherto carried their sense of worth and also identity. What is adiluhung, to be seen with the sense (rasa) not with the eyes, has, it is hoped, been shown to be able to continue in spite of radical changes which transform the conditions for performance. However, even the most flexible and subtle of paradigms has its limits, and one cannot help but wonder how long it will be before culture is cynically seen only as thick as a Rp 1,000 note - a dancer, if lucky, may earn one for an evening's performance, a tourist may give two or three for a seat at the hyped production at Prambanan, referred to earlier. While the extending of the notion of 'tradition' beyond the palace is to be approved, the motives behind it (the opening up of rural regions to the tour buses), must surely require some careful appraisal. What is the cost of the diversification and packaging of forms which are often humble at the outset, maybe abandoned for generations, now barely recognisable in their new costumes and names? What will become of the sense of personal worth, a toy of policies which gain them little but an even more diminished capacity to occupy a

place, suffering the fate of becoming nothing more than the floss on the centrifuge of the economic machine?

It might also be observed that while the Javanese may be shown as losing their 'culture' in contemporary Indonesian (Slamet 1982; Hardjowirogo 1983:30, 116 especially), there is also the sense that in so far as it is still to Java that the Indonesians come for education, and from Java that Javanese go to teach (for instance in the case of Bagong's dance trainees), there is a subtle Javanisation of what is called 'Indonesian'. In 1968, Peacock could write of a contrast of plots in the Ludruk theatre as being between 'old-fashioned' (kuna) and 'modern' (moderen). In Yogyakarta today, kuna has been shown as of value, though the grounds for this are modern and contemporary. To call something Indonesian also need not entail the negation of cara jawa. The discourse of heroes and heirlooms may have at stake more than 'cardboard Matarams' - it may well be to effect the subversion of a struggling Indonesia to the imagined incorporating capacity of a Javanese ideality. Perhaps there is no word in Javanese for 'culture', because 'jawa' already presupposes it. At the same time, hasty reception of outside values, no matter how subtle the rationale of possible incorporation, may be too much for even the most devious resources of alus manipulation and indirection. It is perhaps appropriate, though a loss, that the ambiguous spaces of the Bĕdhaya today start to be filled with 'dramatic' aspects, a warning that reflection in all its nuances could be washed over by achievement-directed action.

In conclusion here, then, vested interests have been shown to be both referred to and constituted by their discourses to loosely-framed distant goals represented as general and shared, which may be projected backwards,

to the pure ethos of the house of Mataram and beyond, and forwards, through the various removes and dissimulations of revolt from its imminent realisation. History may be reversible in discursive terms, but the irreversibility of events, known too well by Yogyakartans who have suffered for independence and after, also leads to wariness, to problems of what action, and the means to effect it. As for the charge of anachronism against the palace - the contest for authenticity may be taking place outside its walls and beyond its immediate definition, and the palace itself is being contested as well. However, at the same time, the palace provides a reference for the contest which serves as its grounds and provides the preconditions for its occurrence. In this sense, its identifications are still effective, and concerned with present-day issues.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. "Seni tari klasik gaya Yogyakarta diciptakan dalam suasana perjuangan mengusir kaum penjajah, ia lahir di tengah tetesan darah, keringat dan airmata, oleh karenanya tarian tersebut mempunyai karakteristik sebagai pejuang yang gagah perkasa dan pantang menyerah, disamping setia, sederhana dan ikhlas, sedemikian memiliki rasa kebangsaan/ nasionalisme yang tinggi, warisan semangat dan nilai seperti inilah yang senantiasa harus dipelihara dan ditumbuhkan", from the opening comment by R.M. Dinusatama.

2. Palmier 1969:good diagrams 39-41; Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1961, 1972; Uhlenbeck 1978; Sairin 1982. Variation in kinship terminology in both reference and address is to be noted; also see Horne 1961:172, 190-1 here.

3. See Sairin 1982:4: "Trah...refers to the form of Javanese social organisation which is based on genealogical connection and oriented to a particular common ancestor....The word trah is only the most general term used to describe this kind of organisation". For a discussion of the relation of trah to golongan (a kind of kindred), and alur waris (ambilineal kin group), see 1982:88-9. Golongan is also used to indicate a group, such as different occupational orders within the palace: golongan listrik 'the electricity group'; the present government in Indonesia is termed 'functional group' (Golongan Karya: Golkar).

4. One source suggests that kĕluwarga is the k.i. form of brayat. O.J. compounds signify groups of friends and/or relatives (Prawiroatmojo 1980). Other O.J. glosses of kula are interesting for the breadth of sense: (1) ([Skt] herd, flock, troop, multitude, number, race, family, tribe, cast, company; noble or eminent family); family, descent, origin. (2) family, descent, origin, wife of lower rank. Kulawarga: the family,(the servants?) (Zoetmulder 1982).

5. For braya in Bali, see Hobart (forthcoming). One might note in Java the absence of groups like the Balinese soroh (class, kind, temple, congregation), or the banjar (members of/and the community house). Brayan, bĕbrayan are defined by Purwadarminta as rukun (harmonious appearances), or as household rukun; brayat is glossed in Javanese as 'sanak sĕdulur', which he understands to be distant relatives or friends; other sources suggest a loosely defined group of relatives with a common descent. Sairin sees brayat as a trah subsection, each made up of several 'nuclear families' (saomah: households) (1982:81-2).

6. Nakamura gives a valuable discussion of abangan and santri categories, in terms of behavioural patterns: "The abangan life style is relaxed, nonchalant, and unpredictable, for one's fate is trusted to the patron. The santri life style is regulated by self-discipline and long-term plans" (1983:135). However, while there is a tendency for the santri to put more value on lair than the batin-directed abangan (1983:159-63), Nakamura makes the important point that to be an ideal santri can be congruent with being an ideal Javanese (1983:178).

7. Titles for descendants of a Sultan are as follows. Sons on marriage are usually Gusti Bĕndara Pangeran Harya (there may be some variation depending on the status of the mother), daughters Bĕndara Raden Ayu. Their children will have the title Raden Mas (male) or Raden Ayu (female) once married. The fifth generation down from the title source has a diminished title: Raden (male) and Raden Nganten (female). Males marrying into aristocratic lines are awarded titles - often with professional connections; females either retain their own title, adopt the system above if marrying a child of the Sultan, or will just be 'Raden'. The straight 'Raden' or 'Raden Nganten' titles are valid for sixteen generations.

8. Each generational group has its own classificatory term: Uhlenbeck cites nine levels, which apply to both ascending and descending generations away from the ancestor (1978:321-34). An informant provided me with nineteen classes, which appear to diverge in some cases from more orthodox sources, but which I give here, with glosses on their sense, for interest: (1) anak; (2) putu; (3) buyut; (4) canggah ('wood/iron branch' used to hold or catch a criminal); (5) wareng ('hybridised hen mixed with a small katé hen'); (6) udhĕg-udhĕg; (7) gantung siwur ('hanging water-dipper'); (8) cicip moning(?); (9) pĕtarangan bobrok(?); (10) gropak sĕnthe ('rafter, horizontal wood or string'; Purwardarminta says = 8th level); (11) gropak wadon ('wadon' = woman); (12) cĕndhĕng ('sanak sĕdulur, brayat'); (13) iyĕng ('crying without stop'); (14) giyĕng ('crying and whingeing'- ?); (15) cumlĕng ('made to feel very stupid' - is this perhaps aimed at the ethnographer??); (16) amlĕng ('all quiet, no news'); (17) mĕnyam (?); (18) mĕnya2 (?); (19) trah tumĕrah ('descending trah'). It is likely that the source of this information, a palace official, copied these terms from an obscure ms source; terms from (10) onwards are not recognised by others. He also claimed that it takes fifty-two links to get back to 'Nabi Adam'.

9. Mandoyokusumo 1980 gives the following number of children per Sultan: HBI: thirty-two; HBII: eighty; HBIII: thirty-two; HBIV: eighteen; HBV: nine (least number of children, longest reign); HBVI: twenty-three; HBVII: seventy-eight; HBVIII: forty-one; HBIX: twenty-two (so far): altogether forty-two are noted to have died young (seda timur).

10. See Palmier 1960, 1969; Sutherland 1975, 1979 for historical background; also Selosoemadjan 1962. Sutherland notes that the term derives from 'younger brothers' (para yayi) (of the king, by implication). Palmier considers the group formerly as a "feudal nobility...not part of the village community" (1969:39). Positions were passed on to chosen sons, if wished, but dropped down one rank: if a father was a Wĕdana, the son would start off as a Bĕkĕl, according to informants.

11. See Mulyono 1982, Koesno 1982 (on philosophy); Darusuprapto 1982 (on historical background); Brandon 1970 (on plots); Long 1979 (on puppet movement); Mulyono 1977 (on characterisation: see also Chapter III, Section iii); Hinzler 1981 (Balinese shadow play).

12. As Dr. Pigeaud has recently commented: "I suppose that the Wayang Wong troupes of the late eighteenth-century courts had not such costly costumes as are exhibited nowadays. It probably was more a fighting contest" (personal communication).

13. Compare Kumar's account of a lady soldier in the eighteenth-century Mankunĕgaran court (1980). While the picture of the Langĕnkusuma in Yogyakarta is still confused, it would seem that the corps was in existence in AD 1788 (Ricklefs 1974:304); some Yogyakartans thought that HBV also maintained such a corps. The Sĕrat Bratayuda (ms B18, Widyabudaya) gives an illustration of female cavalry (p.169). Some literary informants said that Babad Giyanti (ms and page unspecified) mentions the Langĕnkusuma as having their own dance, Kiter, in which they enacted heroines on horseback, fighting with arrows, clubs and so forth. Another claimed that these women fought tournaments inside the palace (not on the north square) - though this does not accord with Kawindrasusanta's account - and that it was unlikely that these women also performed Bĕdhaya and Srimpi.

14. Outside the palace today there are Bĕdhaya-type dances referred to as lampah bĕdhayan which usually have only a story part, but with more than one fight. While this does not occur in palace Bĕdhaya, the idea of having several fights in this way is said to have come from the palace.

15. In an Islamic idiom, the tauhīd ('Lā ilāha illā'llāh) divides into the nafy ('There is no God'), and the ithbāt ('but Allah'); "The notions of the napi and isbat do not represent conflicting ideas, but rather supplement one another", writes Soebardi about the part played by this idea in the Sĕrat Cabolek (1975:137, 195-6). The two parts are associated with the Korawa and Pandhawa - though the commentator reverts to the idiom of 'good and evil' with regard to these two aspects.

16. With which the Javanese versions of the Mahābhārata (Adipārwā) and Rāmāyaṇa versions are near-contemporaneous. Becker (1979) has already made a stimulating analysis of wayang purwa through a comparison with Aristotelian poetics, particularly the four dramatic unities. However, given the epic-narrative genre of the Javanese literary reference, and of constituent elements which Becker does identify - different levels of action and perception, the importance of coincidence, etc. - it might be that the otherness of the shadow play which his comparison draws out might be converted to similarity with regard to the Romances; particularly, of course, in view of the similarity of the ethos of chivalry and satriya.

17. Cf. van Mook 1959: especially 192, 308-9, and 316-7.

18. For a detailed discussion of the recently much-published thinker, see Bonneff 1978.

19. Apart from the writings of Ki Hadjar Dewantara himself (unavailable in English to date), see Tsuchiya 1975; Burger 1957 and Selosoemardjan 1962 also refer to this movement.

20. On these martial arts in Indonesia, see Alexander, Chambers and Draeger 1970; Draeger 1972; in Malaysia, Sheppard 1983 is a useful supplement; cf. also Chapter III, Footnote 21.

21. Onghokham discussed the jago, agent of the ruling elites (priyayi) in the countryside, whose mediatory skills provided the peasantry with bargaining power. It was the attributed invulnerability (kĕbal) of these thuggish "power brokers" which justified the peasantry's acceptance of their charismatic leadership, and the initial trial of strength was "often a physical one in pre-colonial days" (1984:336, 341): though which period is intended here is unclear.

22. Geertz's celebrated quip about Sukarno's attempt to construct "cardboard Matarams" (1972) has been answered by Ricklefs, who urges caution towards a psycho-cultural determinism in making too tight a comparison between Sukarno and Sultan Agung (1981:245). Historicism also generates comparisons with Majapahit (Budya Pradipta 1983). Apart from such post de facto elements which come into play in structuring court chronicles (Ricklefs 1974), there is also an ongoing process of 'polishing' such texts according to today's standards: such 'improvements', particularly as are carried out on manuscripts attributed to HBV, need to be recognised as such, as do other telescopings of events and sequences (see also Soejatmoko 1965; Moertono 1968; Anderson 1972; Jackson and Pye 1978 [especially Chapter 2]).

23. Dra Darsiti Soeratman's work-in-progress considers the role of the officials in the Kasunanan (Surakarta), called Inya, who were responsible for these activities, and also certain historical aspects of the part they played in the Kasultanan in Yogyakarta (1983:13ff.).

24. The effect of the position of the arms in Yogyakartan female dance is similar to the way one holds reins in horseriding, neither dropped on the horse's neck, nor riding higher and higher with the elbows flapping about. It struck me that this effect might be related to the female cavalry, but in spite of the current martial dynamic of female dance, this idea did not impress informants.

25. See Kats 1928; Mulyono 1977.

26. This tendency might also hint at the insipient Vaisnavism in Yogyakarta noted in Chapter V.

27. See Anderson 1972, and also Koentjaraningrat's response, 1980. In Anderson's model, 'Western' power is "abstract, relational, and morally ambiguous", while Javanese power is "concrete, homogeneous", and does not raise questions of legitimacy"(1972:4-8).

Most commentators using this model seem to have overlooked Anderson's own qualification: "In most contemporary cultures, including our own, the two polar concepts of power...exist side by side, with one or the other more or less predominant" (1972:68). Arendt's point about violence and power as being opposites should not be overlooked here also (Lukes 1974:30).

28. In Java a dhukun is a person with healing and other miscellaneous powers. The informant in question told how when he was young he used to indulge in various ascetic practices (fasting, contemplation, bathing in the river during the night). At this time, he happened to visit a house where there was a sick woman, and taking pity on her, he rubbed her stomach for a while. This eased the pain, and she seemed to be able to rest. Some days later it transpired she was cured. The informant said that he tried to avoid the area on hearing this, but the word soon got around, and he became sought after as a powerful dukun, attributed with sĕkti. His attitude was amusement, and reluctance to make use of this set of circumstances to further his material benefits - for the healed woman was most grateful and lavish in her gifts. The informant said in such situations one might be led astray, as handsome young dhukuns are seen by some to have more to offer than just healing talents.

29. The theme of lost books has come up in discussion with Nicholas Tapp, whose thesis on the White Hmong of Northern Thailand (SOAS) treats this theme exhaustively (1985). The question of the conflict between Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and modern developments in cultural promotions, have been discussed also in a recent paper (Freeland 1985).

30. Holt's description of this is the most evocative: "Rivalry between the two capitals leads to mutual scoffing: the Solonese (Surakartans) smirked at the 'stiffness' and drilled precision of Jogya dancers while the Jogya partisans, with insidious smiles, alluded to Solonese 'laxity'. Mutual derogation is gleefully maintained in the two capitals to the present day" (1967:152). The situation remains unchanged; see also Hardjowirogo 1983:107-9.

31. That is, a rickshaw complete with prostitute. This information has recently been presented with some pride; the commentator clearly hails from Surakarta (Hardjowirogo 1983:96-7).

32. See Freeland 1985:38. Ascribed origins of dances do vary considerably. For instance, Bĕksa Etheng is conventionally claimed to be the work of (i.e. sponsored by) HBI. Other sources, however, attribute it to HBV (Soerjadiningrat, n.d.), or to R. Puger, later Paku Buwana I, in the early 1700s, to be taken up later in Yogyakarta by HBV (Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta Dua Ratus Tahun 1956:140). In Yogyakarta, the first performance of Wayang Wong is presumed to have taken place in the Kasultanan some time after the founding of the city in 1756. Pigeaud however also cites a performance of the lakon Widjanarka as having taken place in the

Mangkunĕgaran (1929:7-8). No date is offered, though he has subsequently clarified the reason for noting this lakon before, the Yogyakartan one as being that he received his information from the Mangkunĕgaran (personal communication). This lakon is unknown to myself and also to Professor Ricklefs (personal communication), though it is listed in LOr 10, 831 (62-3), a ms dating from the 1930s (Pigeaud 1967, Vol.II:671). Dr. Pigeaud has also pointed out LOr 15, 012, the O.J. text Wijaya Sraya, made in Bali, where Wijayanarka is a son of Arjuna, and also refers to a section of this text in Zoetmulder 1974:505 (1980, Vol.IV:24). Juynboll follows Winter in giving 1881 as the date of the first Wayang Wong performance in the Mangkunĕgaran under Mangkunĕgara V (1901:408). As far as performances in the Kasunanan are concerned, ms PBC 109 in the Sonobudaya Library gives AD 1883 as the date of a production of the lakon Sri Mataya written by the fifth Crown Prince of Surakarta, performed in the palace at a feast with the participation of princes, portraying the battle between Sri Mataya and Surĕnglaya (Girardet 1983:903). The dating seems odd, as Paku Buwana V was dead by AD 1823. Another manuscript dating from 1922 gives AD 1813 as the date of the performances where the fifth Crown Prince dances Sri Mataya (Arjunasastra) against Amardawa (1983:747). Pigeaud also notes that the Crown Prince of Surakarta in 1790 constructed a lakon drawn from the gĕdhog puppet theatre, which was accompanied by a pelog tuning system (1929:8; and personal communication).

33. It is curious here that fragments of a manuscript containing lyrics for the Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang is followed by those for Bĕdhaya Ela-ela, Bĕdhaya Sumbrĕg, and Bĕdhaya Kuwung-kuwung. The manuscript is G30, Rĕksapustaka, Mangkunĕgaran, and appears to be the same as the one referred to by Poerbatjaraka in his presentation of the Dewa Ruci story (1940), though he identifies the manuscript as B.G. No.4 (AD 1837).

34. Prince Suryobrongto kindly provided me with his text and some translation, dated 1827 (HBVI),in the form of several mimeographed pages. The following comes from the Asmaradana, p.25: "Jĕng Sultan mardawa haris; nimas siwi hanggitiro, sun weh djĕnĕng Sĕmang rane, sĕkatahing kawiragan, pĕpak hana ing Sĕmang, pĕpingul bĕcik sun pundut, catura dadya wilungan. Den paringi nama Srimpi..." I am grateful to Drs Singgih Wibisono for his help in providing an interpretation and Indonesian gloss of this extremely ambiguous passage, which may be rendered in English as follows: "The Sultan said in sweet and friendly tones: 'Daughter, my child, to your creation I give the name Sĕmang; let the full beauty of all dance movement (kawiragan) be in that Sĕmang, and I ask also that it is arranged as well in a composition with four corners (pĕpingul), and the number of dancers will be four and it will be called Srimpi..." The previous verses refer to gamĕlan played at Mauludan. Soedarsono identifies this ms as A66 in the Widyabudaya Library, Sĕrat Nitik, AD 1897 (1984:79; also Girardet 1983:667).

35. For an account of circumstances surrounding the attempted revival, see Suharti 1972. The manuscript used to reconstruct the music and dance movements was written down in 14 Sapar, Jimawal AD 1877, by KRT Kĕrtanĕgara and KRT Wiraguna (who had had the idea of notating this form), assisted by Mas Lurah Brantamara and Mas Lurah Puspakanthi as Panĕwu Demang (producers of the music), and Raden Lurah Babarlayar. If the motivation for writing the Sĕmang down was to prevent its loss, might there have been a decrease of performances at this time for various reasons? The Sultan who sponsored this project, HBVI, died five months after the completion, on 9 Rĕjĕb 1806, or 20 July 1877. This manuscript is untypical in having no Javanese year given. The circumstances surrounding my own attempts to reach definitive resolution - always unwise in Java! - are also relevant here. Having been loaned the recordings of the session in 1972 very kindly by BRM Sulaksmono, I intended to play them to an assistant whose ear for gamĕlan was fitting to the task, and then take him to a Bĕdhaya Kĕtawang rehearsal in Surakarta so that he could hear the melodies, and then come to a conclusion as to what their musical similarities, if any, were. However, having finally managed to borrow the tapes, the truth of the Prince's warning that they were in bad repair became evident. Having repaired them, and then having eventually succeeded in making what should have been reasonable copies (they were not, however), attempts were then made to attend a Kĕtawang rehearsal, which should occur every five weeks. However, none was forthcoming, and then there was a formal cancellation due to the death of the Susuhunan's mother. Such circumstances tend to foster oral histories.

36. These number twenty-four items, including different kinds of rice-porridge and sweetmeats, various kinds of rice cones (tumpĕng), including the one with lights in it (tumpĕng urubung damar) normally associated with Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul, and other elements usually found in such sajen: water with flowers in it, incense, bananas, kĕtan (or kolak, usually: coconut cream, Java sugar, and here, salak fruit), and the head of a buffalo (usual in big offerings). (see ms BS 1B Kridha Mardawa archive, first lefthand side page, unnumbered.)

37. Soedarsono has observed that "since 1918, court dancing Yogya-style, has become more democratic although it still has the flavour of feudalism" (1974:7). For a clear case of 'feodal' meaning 'hierarchy', see Hardjowirogo 1983:11, where 'feodal' is applied to differences of status bearing on age and rank. For a critique of the application of the term 'feudal' to the Principality of Yogyakarta, see van Mook 1959:302-3, 322-3.

38. And indeed, 'classical' forms have been devised to incorporate modern themes, while also being identified as the work of a named choreographer. Sudharso Pringgobroto devised Bĕdhaya Berdirinya Taman Siswa (1952:on the anniversary of the founding of this educational system; notice the Indonesian title!), and Bĕdhaya Revolusi (1959), as well as the traditional Bĕdhaya Dewa Ruci (1951)

(Wibowo 1981:219; Soedarsono et al. 1978:15-16). R. Cornelius Sastrawacono devised Bĕdhaya Pancasila (on the theme of the 'State Philosophy'), and also one about the Virgin Mary (Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah 1976-7, 1977:212-2).

39. See Vaníčková 1965; Hatley 1979. Studies on the Ludruk drama of East Java are also useful here: Peacock 1968; Hatley 1971; Brandon 1974. Nakamura has recently devoted some space to the characterisation of Kĕthoprak by the Muhammadiyah movement as standing for uncontrollable passions (hawa nafsu), and suggests that its revival in the 1970s has contributed to Muhammadiyah's disaffection from centrist governmental policies (1983:169-71).

40. From Arena Tari , translated from the Indonesian at the request of the author, whose original reads as follows: Tentu/Perlu keempan papanan/Kaya apa keadaannya/Untuk siapa/Kepentingan apa/Pelaksana tarinya//Usahkan kecocokan/Suasana/Isi/Bentuk/Gaya//Yang top/ Sebisa bisa//Klop...OK...Jalan//.

41. This compilation tends to follow the KBW classification of dance movement and modes, and as such is not representative of palace practice. One might note here that there is difference at the level of preconditions (pathokan) for dance: palace teachers explained that in the palace shoulder blades tend to fall to the side, while in KBW (and in PBN today) they are drawn more closely together. In the 'shifting sands' (wĕdi kengser) movement, feet are below the hips, and thus further apart than in the KBW manner of doing this movement. In kicat,'stepping as on hot sand', the palace style requires a flicking as the foot is placed on the floor, which is omitted in KBW. Arms are also noticed as different. People said that in 'elephant rolling its trunk' (gajah ngoling), the KBW movement has the arms stretching right out in front; "like in Bapang!!" said critics. Differences in terminologies have been noted above, Chapter III, Section iii.

42. Perhaps they hope for divine intervention. A disaster of this kind (as interpreted by some) occurred during fieldwork. I was invited to a grand reception to be held in this compound in honour of the visit of Lord Todd (1957 Nobel Prize-winner in Chemistry). Because he was English, the invitation bore a reproduction of Raffles' print of a ronggeng: singularly inappropriate, since the dancing planned was classical, courtesy of SAB. Having been suitably coiffed Javanese-style for the occasion, I then discovered that the entire reception had been called off. It turned out that this was because of the tragic drowning of a child (Moh. Hatta's grandchild, in fact) in the compound's swimming-pool the previous afternoon. It later transpired that Lord Todd's entertainment had surreptitiously been transferred to Bagong's dance school outside Yogyakarta. Refraining from the obvious comments about too much pamrih - for, after all, a child had died - people contented themselves by saying that the swimming-pool had clearly been put in a bad place, implying that if trees had been cut down in the process, necessary procedures to pacify their spirits had not been observed.

43. In the case of gamĕlan music, however, J.Becker (1980) has suggested that changes in the audience account for changes in the musical tradition.

44. Rendra 1983:6, 44. With regard to the second point, one might also note Ricklefs' observation that the tendency to "introspective Javaneseness" in palace literature occurred after the 1750s, and that earlier literature has been quite different (1978:220).

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

At the start of this study the problem of translation and its implications for anthropology was raised. Having made the ethnographic exploration, certain general theoretical questions emerge. Are anthropologists interested in validating their own cultural categories in an act of conceptual imperialism, or in questioning these with the aim of honing them to greater adequacy by testing them in less predictable conditions, such as the ethnographic field? Is it then necessary for ethnography to isolate and reify this field, thereby consolidating its status as 'Other'? Then there are questions about whether the spirit in which any of these might be carried out is one of relativism or universalism, both of which are also problematic.

All that can be done here is to sum up directions which have been suggested by the various arguments and tentative conclusions presented in the course of discussion as they bear on these issues. These may be articulated with reference to dance, anthropology, and the ethnographic locality.

As a touchstone for this study, dance has been constituted empirically, if the priorisation of local perspectives and discourses may be taken as a form of empiricism. At the same time, dance has been understood as something which exists in the deferring of categorisation in language, and while this may be to do with the kind of practice which dance is, it has also raised questions about other things which were discussed in Yogyakarta. The main conclusion must be that the analysis of performance or representations is best determined by what is brought to such forms by

their practitioners, producers and witnesses. In Yogyakarta, for example, dance as Joged Mataram is understood to regenerate in the dancer states which the system borrows from a set of references which is identified with the palace. If such analyses tend to the holistic, the compendious, and also the tentative, it is hoped none the less to achieve fairness in one's own reproduction of these representations, and to do justice to the density and breadth they have for the people they belong to.

If terms such as 'symbol', 'culture', 'meaning', 'function', and 'structure' have been skirted, it has been in order to loosen associations and challenge presuppositions and any general applicability which these terms have come to entail. The use of 'identifications' and 'references' (with apologies to Nelson Goodman, who may not recognise them here), may be taken, one hopes, as illuminating rather than evasive alternatives or putative representatives of a new theoretical orthodoxy. They fitted the conditions, experience, and remembering of fieldwork, and have helped to challenge theory which requires stable categories and boundaries: the palace thus becomes a reference for generating identifications, not a 'context'. It has also been argued that categories (and the boundaries that these constitute) be seen as an enabling process, rather than the reverse where process culminates in hypostatisation. Ordering principles have been shown in cross-cutting, undermining fixities, and generating, in the Javanese idiom, flow.

This principle of flow has been developed theoretically to make certain assertions about the dangers of assumptions. At the same time, the theoretical bases for ideas about knowledge and styles of approach, such as deconstruction, are Western, however much their

projection onto the screen of the 'Other' allows them to be made manifest and articulated. This is not to say that the results are entities, caught between theory and practice, which are. They may indeed be figments (figments at various removes, even), but figments which enable other figments to be made accessible.

If any attempt has been made to redeem Yogyakarta (and Java) from a sense of 'Otherness', and to show how 'Otherness' can be seen as 'This-ness', under different names and arrangements, it is also true that the allowance of optionality in cara jawa may well have accumulated in the corner hitherto reserved for other ethnocentric designations which were to have been swept away completely. What might have struck the ethnographer as options may have many more strings attached for the experiencing subjects at home. Perhaps a dust of ethnocentrism must always linger, despite intentions to the contrary. To the extent that a paradigm for the Javanese has emerged, it is hoped that this is from the inside, and not by means of an insidious shaping and determining of the material from without. What may be neat reductions in the name of a theoretical elegance are often read literally by Third World academics and intellectuals as blueprints for social action instead of as sociological models (a counterpart perhaps to anthropological readings of other discourses as blueprints for social explanation). I hope this possibility has been avoided. If my paradigm, implied not stated, leaks and bulges, allowing contradiction and irresolution to stand, without being incorporated into a tidy homogeneous structure, my aim will have been fulfilled. This study may however caution those in the region who at present are trying to channel the flow of events about the problems of putting an uprooted tree in a jar of water and then wondering

why it does not bear fruit. While the palace in Yogyakarta still survives and allows a way of remembering to continue, how much longer this will be the case is anybody's guess. Perhaps the last chapter is over-sanguine, taking certain local opinions too much at face value. Perhaps to speak of deferral and the balance between presence and absence is merely to endorse naively certain alibis and sustain illusions which look quite different from the informant's point of view, but whose articulation is deferred for less abstract reasons. Whatever the case, it is hoped that panic and pressure to integrate into the 'real world' (i.e. global economy) need not necessarily bring about further loss of density and connectability. Java may seem far away, but often, it is close to home.

APPENDIX 1

Forms, Origins and References in Yogyakarta

Origin	Form	Reference
HBI 1755-1792	Wayang Wong: Gandawardaya, Jayasĕmĕdhi	wayang purwa (shadow play)
	Bĕksan Lawung/Trunajaya	male fights
	Bĕksan Etheng	cock-fighting
	Bĕksan Guntur Sĕgara	male fight for four
	Bĕksan Tuguwasesa	male fight
	Bĕdhaya	from Sultan Agung: Mahābhārata, legends, Menak
	Srimpi	
HBII 1792-1812	Wayang Wong: Jayapusaka	
	Bĕdhaya Sĕmang	legend of Sultan Agung and Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul
	+ other B/S choreographies	
HBIII 1812-1814	Bĕksan Gambuh, Bĕksan Niutra, Bĕksan Kĕmbang/Ronggeng, Unchelan, Unjung[1]	male fights
	B/S and Bĕksan as above	female fights
HBIV 1814-1823	As above? No data about Wayang Wang productions	
HBV 1823-1855	Wayang Wong: Pragolamurti, Pĕtruk dados ratu, Rabinipun Ankawijaya angsal Dewi Utari; Jayasĕmĕdhi, Prĕgiwa-Prĕgiwati	
	Bĕksan Nyakrakusuma as above	wayang gĕdhog (Panji stories)
HBVI 1855-1877 Crown Prince	As above; Langĕndriya:[2] outside palace	wayang klitik (Damarwulan stories)

1. Cited in Raffles 1978:344.
2. Some sources suggest that Langĕndriya was not actually performed until 1878.

APPENDIX 1 (continued)

Origin	Form	Reference
HBVII 1877-1921	As above: Wayang Wong: Sri Suwela; Prĕgiwa-Prĕgiwati;	
	Srimpi Rĕnggawati; Bĕksan Gĕlas/Gĕndul	
	Golek	Tayub/Ronggeng
	Langĕn Wiraga Langĕn Mandra Wenara both sponsored by Chief Ministers Danurĕja VI and VII outside palace	Pañji (wayang gedhog) Rāmāyaṇa (wayang purwa)
HBVII 1921-1939	As above; Wayang Wong: Jayasĕmĕdhi, Sri Suwela (1923); Sambasĕbit, Ciptoning Mintaraga (1925); Parta krama, Srikandhi mĕguru manah, Sĕmbadra larung (1928); Jayapusaka (1929); Sĕmbadra larung (1932); Sĕmar boyong; Rama nitik; Rama nitis (1933); ibid. (1934); Ciptoning Mintaraga (1937); Mintaraga (1938); Prĕgiwa-Prĕgiwati, Ankawijaya krama angsal Siti Sundari; Pancawala krama angsal Prĕgiwati (1939)	
	Klana Topeng (post-1937)	
	Activities of KBW also include Wayang Topeng	
HBIX 1940-	Wayang Wong fragments: Rabinipun Irawan angsal Dewi Titisari; Bedhahipun nagari Dwarawati; ...Gathotkaca Lair (1983)	
	As above; Golek Menak Bĕdhaya Sangaskara Activities in other organisations	Menak stories love and marriage

APPENDIX 2

Sari Tunggal

This is the palace training dance. What follows is translated from instructions given during lessons. The final sections (wĕdi kengser on) were taped as the teacher-dancer spoke; as I knew more (supposedly) by then, instructions were more sketchy, and have been left as such, as these notes are intended to give an idea of dance movements and sequences, not to serve as a pattern to dance from, hence the gaps, which also indicate continuation.

G. Salutation, stand up.

1. Knee bend (mĕndhak: Illustrations 26, 27).
2. Lean right (ngoyog: Illustrations 30-35), kick left (gĕdrug: Illustrations 22, 23), panggĕl right (Illustration 20).
3. Set to, put aside left hand, left foot taking weight (ngleyek: illustrations 28, 29).
4. Look right, put back left hand in ngithing (Illustration 14), look left.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, take up left sash (with fingers, jimpit: (Illustrations 38, 39).
7. Right foot taking weight set to.
8. Throw back right sash, toss left sash over hand (where it stays until repeat 3, beat 6).

Nggrudha kiwa
(on the spot, weight centre to left and up; use of right and left sashes)

1. Knee bend, take up right sash.
2. Lean left.
3. Ĕncot (Illustrations 36, 37).
4. Set to
5. Ĕncot.
6. Lift up right sash (mumbul: Illustrations 40, 41).
7. Stand.
8. Flick back right sash (it remains held until repeat 3, beat 8).

Repeat twice, the third repeat concluding

8. Flick right sash, look right.

1. Knee bend.
2. Lean left,
3. Left foot taking weight.
4. Toss right sash over hand, look left.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, look right, toss off right sash.
7. Stand, right foot toes only, look left.
G. Throw back right sash, neck movement(until beat 4).
:
1. :
2. Take up left sash.
3. :
4. Wave right forearm once.
5. Right foot taking weight.
6. Toss off left sash (still holding).
7. Kick left.
8. Left foot forward rest on toes, look right, lean left, flick back left sash, toss right sash over hand.

Nggrudha tĕngĕn
(on the spot, weight forward and up; use of right and left sashes)

1. Knee bend, set down left foot, right foot behind.
2. Lean forward.
3. Lift up right sash.
4. Ĕncot.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Set down right foot behind taking weight.
G. Flick back left sash.

Repeat once, ending:
8. Flick back left sash, look left.

1. Lean forward to the right, look right.
2. :
3. Knee bend.
4. Toss left sash over hand.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, toss off left sash.
7. Stand.
G. Throw back left sash, look right.

1. Neck movement (till 4)
2. Take up left sash.
3. :
4. Wave left forearm once.
5. Knee bend.
6. Kick right, toss off right sash, throw back left sash.
7. Set to right foot taking weight, left hand turns.
8. Throw back right sash, look right.

Ngĕndhĕrĕk
(moving left to right; use of right sash, left hand ngruji: Illustration 13)

1. Knee bend, look left, left hand ngruji, right hand takes up sash.
2. Kick left.
3. Up on both toes.
4. Knee bend, left foot flattens, body turned left (right hand holding sash still).
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Set to right foot taking weight.
G. Flick back right sash, look right (left hand still in ngruji).

1. Left kick, right hand takes up sash, and repeat twice, ending

G. Throw back right sash, look right.

Imbal
(moving backwards and forwards; no use of sash)

1. Quick kick left, both hands turning in front, elbows bent.
2. Left foot forward, put left hand aside (sĕduwa: Illustration 42), right hand complete turn.
3. Kick right.
4. Right foot forward, hands in front (left ngruji, right nyĕmpurit), elbows bent (right remains like this, turning to two lots of eight beats)
5. Stand, prepare to
6. Kick left.
7. Stand, weight left, left hand begins to move down to
8. Sĕduwa (right still in front).

1. Lean right.
2. Hands turn.
3. Lean left again, left hand sĕduwa (right still in front).
4. Right foot heel off floor, hands as 3, one neck movement right (gĕdĕg).
5. Left arm straight hand ngithing, prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Stand, prepare to step forward with right foot, left hand turns completely.
G. Right foot steps forward diagonally, left hand complete turn, put back right.

Impang ĕncot
(weight backwards and forwards; right sash, left ngruji)

1. Weight into right foot, right hand takes up sash (elbow bent), left hand ngruji.
2. Kick left.
3. Left foot taking weight.
4. "Pa-" flick back right sash,"-pat" ĕncot.
5. Knee bend.
6. Right foot crosses in front of left which goes on toes.
7. Left arm sĕduwa.
8. Toss right sash over hand, put back left hand in ngithing, look left.

1. Lean back, left foot taking weight.
2. Kick right, right hand (with sash) at waist (malangkĕrik), left hand ngruji in front, elbow bent.
3. Right foot taking weight, body turns right, left hand still ngruji.
4. Ĕncot, left arm sĕduwa.
5. Knee bend.
6. Left foot crosses behind right, left arm straight hand ngithing, toss off right sash.
7. Turn left hand completely.
G. Right foot steps forward, put back right hand, put right foot diagonally, look right.

Repeat once, ending:
G. Set right foot to, raise left hand and turn near the ear, throw back right sash.

Ngundhuh sĕkar (pick flower)
(on the spot, weight left, right, up; no use of sash).

1. Knee bend (hands are moving continuously through to beat 8).
2. Lean right (right hand rising)
3. Lean left again (right hand falling).
4. Ĕncot.
5. Knee bend.
6. Left hand down, right hand in front, elbow bent, right foot taking weight.
7. :
8. Right hand in front nyĕmpurit, left hand back ngithing.

1. Lean right.
2. :
3. Right and left hands at front, elbows bent.
4. Kick left.
5. Prepare to turn hands.
6. Set to, left foot taking weight.
7. Open hands, palms out, finger tips starting inwards.
G. Turn both hands completely till

1. Knee bend, both hands in front elbows bent (Illustrations 26, 27).
2. Lean right (hands move as above, till beat 8).
3. Lean left again set to
4. Ĕncot (right leg).
5. Knee bend.
6. Kick right.
7. Stand, prepare to
8. Step forward diagonally right foot.

Sĕndhi (link)

1. Knee bend.
2. Kick left.
3. Prepare to
4. Step forward diagonally left foot, left hand put aside, prepare to kicat (below).
5. Knee bend, take up right sash.
6. Kick right.
7. Stand leaning forward to the left.
G. Flick back right sash, pull left round elbow (Illustrations 43, 44), neck movement.

Kicat
(movement from right to left and back again, with little steps in which the feet are put down crossing in front of each other; the effect should be like walking on very hot sand, a little 'flick' made as the foot touches the ground; use of sashes.)

1. Knee bend.
2. Right foot crosses in front of the left and steps are taken to the left:
3. Left.
4. Right.
5. Left.
6. Right.
7. Left foot crosses in front of right, left hand put aside, holding sash.
8. Pull right sash round elbow, right foot slanted diagonally, step to the right:

1. Left.
2. Right.
3. Left.
4. Right.
5. Left.
6. Right.
7. Left.
G. Return to left kicat (as above).

Repeat kicat to the left, until sëndhi (link):
7. Kick left, put aside left hand, toss right sash over hand.
8. Left foot to the side and a little behind right, look left.

1. Quick kick right.
2. Right foot steps forward (taking weight), toss left sash over hand, look right, right hand with sash put aside.
3. Kick left.
4. Left foot steps forward, left hand set aside, right hand in front (both hands still hold sashes).
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, toss off but hold right sash, flick back left(?)
7. Right foot set to taking weight.
G. Look right, flick back right sash, toss left sash over hand.

Nyamběr (flying)
(circles using little steps on tip-toe; use of sashes.)

1. "Si-" kick left "-ji" (Illustration 45), sirig, left foot first, anti-clockwise (on toes, little steps, knees bent, hips tight).
2. :
3. :
4. Stand.
5. Set to, right foot taking weight, left hand in front (with sash), right still holds sash.
6. Left sash tossed off but held.
7. Kick left.
8. Set to left, toss right sash over hand, look left, flick back left sash.

1. "Si-"kick right "-ji" sirig, right foot first, clockwise.
2. :
3. :
4. Right foot forward.
5. Knee bend.
6. Toss right sash off hand but hold, kick right.
7. Set to right foot taking weight.
G. Toss left sash over hand, lean back, left foot forward on toes, flick back right sash, neck movement.

Ulap-ulap (a looking movement)
(on the spot, weight forward and up; use of sash, nyathok (over hand.)

1. Neck movement, brush brow with left hand and sash over it, encot, take up right sash (Illustration 46).
2. Knee bend.
3. Look right, lift up right sash.
4. Flick back right sash, lean forward on left foot, look right (Illustration 47).
5. Lower left hand (still with sash).
6. :
7. Lean forward on left foot.
8. Flick back right sash, neck movement (till beat 2 below).

1. Weight even.
2. Knee bend.
3. Right foot diagonal, body weight left, look right.
4. Left sash still over hand, right hand in front with sash, palm up.
5. :
6. Kick right.
7. Stand leaning forward.
G. Throw back right sash.

1. Neck movement.
2. Kick right, lean forward (ongkek), right hand in front elbow bent.
3. Set to, right foot taking weight.
4. Flick back right sash, look right.
5. Quick kick left, set to left foot taking weight.
6. Set to, toss right sash over hand, look left.
7. Kick right.
8. Right foot forward, set aside right hand (with sash).

1. Knee bend.
2. Kick left.
3. Left foot in front, stand, prepare to
4. Step forward with left foot diagonally, left and right hands at front elbows bent.
5. Knee bend.
6. Kick right, toss off left and right sashes.
7. Stand with feet making a 'V'.
G. Throw back left and right sashes.

Wĕdi kengser (shifting sands)
(movements left to right and back again; no sash.)

1. Kengser (shuffle feet: heels together, toes together, hips tight) to the right.
2. Looking right.
3. Set to, look left.
4. Left foot behind, body weight right.
5. Lift right foot slightly, turn hands (Illustration 48).
6. Set right foot down diagonally.
7. Kick left, prepare to
8. Stand, hands in tumpang tali (wrists together, left down in ngruji, right up in ngithing).

Repeat to the left, turning hands up so left is up and right is down at G.

Repeat to the right.

1. Kengser to the left.
2. Turn hands (no longer in tumpang tali).
3. : and prepare to
4. Put aside left hand, look left, knee bend.
5. Kick right.
6. Set to right foot again, throw back right sash, turn left hand half.
7. :
G. Set to, left hand at front elbow bent, right still back.

Nggudhawa asta minggah (nggudhawa with hands rising)
(on the spot, weight left and right, no sash.)

1. Knee bend,
2. Lean left moving slowly until 5.
3. :
4. :
5. Lean back to right.
6. Set to right.
7. :
8. Knee bend, right hand in front elbow bent.

1. :
2. Lean left, look right.
3. :
4. Left and right hands both put back in ngithing.
5. Kick right, hands rising to front, elbows bending.
6. Stand leaning forward.
7. Turn right hand near ear.
G. Neck movement.
:
1. Kick right.
2. Set to, right foot taking weight, put aside right hand, look right.
3. :
4. Look right, quick kick right, right hand takes sash.
5. Kick left, set to left.
6. Kick right.
7. Right foot forward.
8. Right foot taking weight.

1. Knee bend.
2. Kick left.
3. Left foot steps forward, put aside left hand.
4. Look left.
5. Knee bend.
6. Step forward sideways with right foot, left hand turns, prepare for tasikan.
7. :
G. Put right hand aside, turn left hand near left ear.

Tasikan mubĕng (powdering one's face going round in a circle)
(movement in a square, all clockwise; no sash.)

1. Kick left.
2. Right hand prepared to nyudut (putting powder on brow) (Illustration 55).
3. Set to.
4. Knee bend, look left at right hand which nyudut.
5. Hands return.
6. Kick right.
7. Step forward right foot to the east.
8. Look right.

Repeat facing east.
Repeat facing south.
8. Left and right hands fall to elbow height at front turn.

1. Kick left, right hand turns.
2. Set to, put aside left hand, look left.
3. :
4. :
5. Kick right.
6. Set to, put right hand aside, turn left hand half.
7. Turn to face west.
G. "Wo-" take up right sash "-lu" lean left for a count of seven.

Ngĕncĕng
(on the spot, weight left, right, left, use of right sash.)

8. Right arm still straight, left hand ngruji at front.

1. Lean right.
2. :
3. :
4. Right hand in front with sash (in ngithing) elbow bent.
5. :
6. Set to right.
7. :
G. Flick back right sash, look left.

1. Knee bend lean right.
2. :
3. :
4. Bring right hand slowly to front, elbow bending.
5. :
6. Set to right.
7. Flick back right sash, look right.
8. :

1. Knee bend.
2. Kick left.
3. Put aside left hand, look left.
4. Left hand takes up sash, prepare for tinting.
5. Kick right, toss off sash still holding it (left?)
6. Set to
7. Flick back left/right(?) sash look right.
G. Left hand in front with sash, flick back right sash.

Tinting
(movements, running from left to right; use of sash.)

1. "Si-" step forward left, wave left forearm once "-ji" flick back left, sirig (run in little steps on tiptoes in a straight line).
2. :
3. Step forward left and turn.
4. "Pa-" wave right forearm once "-pat" flick back right sash (left hand holds sash in front, ngruji).
5. Knee bend, kick right, flick back right sash.
6. :
7. Step forward right, wave left forearm once.
8. Right hand in front, elbow bent.

1. "Si-" step forwards left, wave left forearm once, "-ji" flick back left sash, sirig.
2. :
3. Right forward turn.
4. "Pa-" flick back left sash "-pat" ɛncot.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick left, flick left sash back.
7. Left forward turn, look right, wave right forearm once.
G. :

1. "Si-" step, wave right forearm once "-ji" flick back right sash, sirig.
2. :
3. Left forward turn.
4. "Pa-" flick back left sash "-pat" ɛncot.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right flick back right sash.
7. Right foot forward, look left, wave left forearm once.
8. :

1. "Si-" wave left forearm once "-ji" flick back left sash, sirig.
2. :
3. Step forward and set to, toss right sash over hand.
4. :
5. Toss off right sash, flick back left sash.
6. :
7. Set to right, look right.
G. Turn left hand.

Pĕndapan ngrĕgĕm udhĕt (walking holding sash)
(movement backwards and forwards; use of sash.)

1. Take right sash, left hand in ngruji at front, turn wrist as appropriate.
2. Kick left.
3. Right hand at front elbow bent, look left.
4. :
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Step forward right foot, look right.
8. :

1. Knee bend.
2. Kick left.
3. Step forward left foot, look left.
4. :
5. Knee bend and prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Set to right foot taking weight.
G. Left foot goes forwards resting on toes, look left, one neck movement to the right.

1. Knee bend, look right.
2. Kick left, look right.
3. Set to, look left.
4. Set to left, look left.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, stand.
7. Step forward right foot, look right.
8. Set to weight even.

1. Knee bend, right foot taking weight.
2. Kick left.
3. :
4. Step forward left foot, left hand put aside.
5. :
6. Set aside right sash, left hand half-turn.
7. :
G. Throw back right sash.

Lembeyan sirig mundur (walking and running backwards)
(movement backwards and forwards with running steps, no sash.)

1. Lean left.
2. :
3. :
4. Turn left hand(?), right hand at front elbow bent, lean right.
5. :
6. Kick left, look right.
7. Left foot set down diagonally, stand.
8. Neck movement.

1. "Si-" put back right hand "-ji" sirig backwards.
2. :
3. :
4. Put down right foot taking weight.
5. :
6. Kick left, turn right hand.
7. Set to left.
G. Put back left hand.

1. "Si-" (?) "-ji" left (?) and back.
2. Lean right.
3. Lean left again.
4. Left hand in front, elbow bent.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right, look left.
7. :
8. Lift right foot slightly, sirig forwards.

1. "Si-" "-ji" move.
2. :
3. :
4. Set aside left hand, look left.
5. Prepare to
6. Kick right.
7. Set to right, throw back sash.
G. :

(The remaining two sections are even harder to set to beats, hence the numerous gaps; the music begins to end (suwuk) at the salutation.)

Ngĕncĕng jengkeng ngĕmbat asta (kneel and wave arms with nglayang flying movement.

1. Lean left, right hand holding edge of sash.
2. :
3. Kneel on left knee resting on toes of right foot (jengkeng).
4. :
5. :
6. :
7. :
8. Flick back right sash, look right.

1. :
2. Toss right sash over hand, look left.
3. :
4. :
5. :
6. Toss right sash off hand, look right.
7. :
G. Flick back right sash, look left, neck movement.

1. :
2. :
3. :
4. Wave right forearm once.
5. :
6. Right hand at front, elbow bent.
7. Look right.
8. Turn right hand half-turn.

1. :
2. :
3. :
4. Set aside left sash, look left, body leans over left.
5. :
6. :
7. :
G. :

1. :
2. Put aside left sash, look left.
3. :
4. Put back left sash.
5. :
6. Turn left hand.
7. Nglayang (Illustration 49, 50).
8. :

Sĕmbah (salutation)

1. Look right.
2. Look left.
3. Look right.
4. :
5. :
6. Look left, raise both hands very slowly.
7. :
G. Make the salutation with neck movement)

(This is the last gong; other instruments play softly, as a closing song (lagon) is performed.)

1. :
2. :
3. Set both hands aside.
4. :
5. Look right, arrange right sash.
6. :
7. Look left, arrange left sash.
8. :

The sitting position sila panggung (Illustration 17) with which the dance opened is then taken up: left arm in sĕduwa, move into sila, right hand down in front tidies the sash, organises the fold of the skirt (sarĕdan), right foot in front of left, both covered by the fold, sit in sila, hands folded right over left, then salute again. Although the music and singing are probably quiet by now, these final actions are still considered to be included in the bĕksa (dance movement).

APPENDIX 3

The Philosophy of Bĕdhaya and Srimpi Entertainments[1]

The Bĕdhaya and Srimpi entertainments of the Yogyakartan palace conceal a meaning or have a deep intention, no different from that of His Royal Highness Sultan Hamĕngku Buwono I, founder of the palace of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat.

The explanation is as follows: Bĕdhaya is a dance for nine females, while Srimpi is for four. This is taken as the basis according to the order of His Royal Highness Sultan Hagung Prabu Hanyokrokusumo, as written in the Sĕrat Babad Nitik, p.40, produced by Kangjĕng Ratu Hagĕng.[2]

Clothing

Clothing and make-up for the above are identical, without differentiation. The effect should be like 'the void';[3] every human originates from this void, except that he arrives at the condition of being born,[4] so that he does not give way to jealousy or excesses (a jealous and overbearing character). Everything should be adorned so as to work together.

Formations[5]

The above-mentioned Bĕdhaya Sanga[6] is arranged with five in the middle, and four to the left and right, which comes to nine. This forms the complete human:[7] head, body (trunk), arms, and legs. Those

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1. This is a translation from the Javanese explication (or philosophy, falsafah) of the two dance forms by KHP Brongtodiningrat (1982), the late dance expert of the palace and brother of HBVIII.
2. See Chapter VIII, Footnote 34.
3. Samun.
4. Tata lair.
5. Tata rakit.
6. 'Nine'.
7. Balegĕring.

in the centre are called: (1) Endhel; (2) Batak; (3) Jangga; (4) Dhadha, and (5) Bunthil. Those to the left and right are called Apit Ngajĕng and Apit Wingking; Endhel Wĕdalan Ngajĕng, and Endhel Wĕdalan Wingking. The total comes to nine.

After the human form, then the five elements[8] are introduced, as follows: (1) soul/light; (2) sense; (3) spirit; (4) desire; (5) disposition.[9] These originiate form the four forces, as follows: (1) Water of Life; (2) Wind; (3) Fire/Sun; (4) Air/Atmosphere.[10] Thus perfect man is achieved. So much for the formation of Bĕdhaya Sanga.

The Course[11] of the Dance

Endhel Pajĕg at the start dances with the line, and then it happens that she comes out of the line of five, as the place of the first will,[12] then she enters again together with Endhel Wĕdalan Ngajĕng and Wingking.

This has a meaning:[13] 'three become one'/'Trimurti',[14] i.e.: the vital parts[15] of (1) water; (2) earth; (3) air.[16] The course of Trimurti then becomes 'Pramana'.[17] This 'Pramana' is already the subtle body[18] which represents the material body.[19]

Tripusara: this means[20] that the three powers[21] are held together so that they become one, called 'Triloka', i.e.: (1) brain; (2) heart;

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8. Mudah.
9. Nur, rahsa, roh, napsu, budi; an earlier draft of this article gave these in a different order: (1) budi; (2) roh; (3) nur; (4) rahsa; (5) napsu.
10. Tirtakamandu, Maruta, Bagaskara, Swasana.
11. Lampah.
12. Wahyaning hosik.
13. Maksut.
14. Usually Brahma, Siwa, Wisnu.
15. Sarining.
16. Toya, grama, angin; fire is not mentioned.
17. 'A means to acquiring a certain knowedge' (Gonda 1952:159): this Indic sense in Java has come to mean 'visual power', the first of the Indian pramana
18. Wujuting kahalusan.
19. Badan kawadhagan, citakaning raga.
20. Tĕgĕsipun.
21. Kĕkuwatan.

(3) viscera.[22] So for the Javanese these are called Ngĕndraloka, Guruloka, and Janaloka.[23] For Islamic people, Betal makmur, Betal mukaram, and Betal mukadas.

Batak: as 'head', used for the five senses,[25] i.e.: (1) sight; (2) hearing; (3) smell; (4) touch;[26] (5) taste.[27] So Jangga, Dhadha, and Bunthil simply follow the path of Batak, with the meaning taken from their names, i.e.:

Jangga (neck) uses the passage of food to satisfy the needs of the body.

Dhadha (chest), here the place for all the instruments which activate the movements throughout the body.

Bunthil (bottom, sex organ), used by the actions of passion together with the overcoming of difficulties.

Apit (flank) all four Apit mentioned above serve to remind one of the 'Spiritual',[28] according to the Science of Ultimate Reality,[29] from the four teachings of Islam which may not be abandoned, i.e.: (1) Sarĕngat, which forms order; (2) Tarekat, which forms the way/path;[30] (3) Hakekat which forms perfection, truth;[31] (4) Makripat,[32] which is the aim of understanding the attributes of Allah. Islam means surrendering[33] body and soul to the will of Allah.

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22. Dimak, jantung, pringsil.
23. Spheres of spirits, gods and men.
24. Often head, chest, phallus.
25. Pañcahĕndriya.
26. Rahosing salira.
27. Rahosing tutuk.
28. Rohanijan.
29. Ngelmu kabatinan.
30. Syaria'at, Tharikat.
31. Kasampurnan.
32. Ma'rifat.
33. Masrahakĕn.

Endhel-Batak

Endhel fighting the enemy Batak represents the disturbance of the Will,[34] intent on winning, something which is common as this world contains only two things: i.e. 'Good and Evil';[35] 'right and wrong';[36] 'high and low,[37] etc. always. So if the bad can go as far as reaching the good, it will certainly put an end to virtue.[38] However, if good can overcome bad, that indeed being virtue's role, excellence and honour,[39] so the meeting of the two becomes as one,[40] as in the saying 'the blade in the sheath'; so too the unity of servant and lord.[41]

Bĕdhaya Sanga (9)

This Bĕdhaya Sanga means that the human body is equipped with nine holes, i.e. two eyes, two nostrils, two ears, one mouth, one anus, and one sexual organ. These nine holes are common to all and are used all the time.

The set of nine holes is often spoken of in the shadow play as King, knight, and so on, to make right the trials of the heart, and certainly in contemplation, as it is said there (in the shadow play): close the nine holes, clarify the thoughts:[42] this is considered the deepest work of man, and you should not put the five senses first.

An explanation to simply this is as follows: Endhel Agĕng[43] is the place of the first Will, which, when wisdom is lacking, can generate difficulties, as this Will has both good and bad aspects, while its origin

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34. Karsa.
35. Sae lan awon.
36. Lĕrĕs lan lĕpat.
37. Inggil lan andhap.
38. Kĕhutamen.
39. Kaluhuran sarta kamulyan.
40. Loro-loro atunggal.
41. Jumbuhing Kawula lan Gusti.
42. Nutupi babahan nawa sanga, hangĕningakĕn cipta.
43. 'Big' Endhel = Endhel Pajĕg.

is from the heart;[44] this means: bad desires[45] have the sense of: disposition,[46] which is influenced by the force of desire to the point of fantasies, what is called 'gut instinct',[47] so that whoever arrives at this 'instinct' without doubt will continually be confused in all matters.

Good desires[48] have the sense of Sacred Speech,[49] placed in the innermost sense[50] which suddenly arises in the consciousness,[51] and is said to hit upon the right, so that this does not need to be thought about,[52] the innermost sense already having its own certain comprehension;[53] so mankind naturally is able to act upon the command[54] coming from the two desires mentioned above, enabling action[55] to be upright[56] and correct; at the same time this command can be very difficult to perceive,[57] and so it is necessary to carry out contemplation. No 'not yet' or 'I mean to', but simply from the love of clarity, if one is able to unite,[58] there certainly there will be no wish to turn back.

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44. Jantung.
45. Osik ingkang awon.
46. Roh ilafi, budi.
47. Nyet.
48. Osik ingkang sae.
49. Sang Sabda.
50. Rahsa.
51. Manah, sanubari.
52. Kagagas.
53. Pĕngĕrtos.
54. Niti priksa.
55. Tumindakipun.
56. Jĕjĕg.
57. Sagĕtipun maton angel sangĕt.
58. Jumbuh.

Srimpi 4

This Srimpi which is a dance for four, is organised according to the four cardinal points,[59] i.e. is connected to the results (origin of) the corporeal body,[60] the elements of the body being four, i.e.: earth, air, water, and earth[61] which may be specified as follows:

I. Earth becomes the spirit[62] bearing the signs[63] which are four in number, i.e.: (1) Aluamah (the desire for food) - red; (2) Amarah (anger) - black; (3) Supiyah (cannot yet overcome) - yellow; (4) Mutmainah (rightness, truth)[64] - white. These have rays[65] which are black, red, yellow, and white.

II. Wind becomes the bearer of four signs, i.e.: (1) Napas (good breath); (2) Ampas (not very good breath); (3) Tanapas (inconsistent breath); (4) Nupus (without breath).

III. Water becomes the bearer of four signs, i.e.: (1) Roh Jasmani (life-giving spirit); (2) Nurani (light); (3) Roh Kabati (manah: the inner spirit); (4) Roh Hewan (animal spirit).

IV. Earth becomes the bearer of four signs, i.e.: (1) blood: (2) flesh; (3) bone; (4) marrow.

All of the above come from the All Powerful,[66] indeed the one who made the world and everything in it.[67]

Thus the meaning of the contents[68] of the Bĕdhaya and Srimpi entertainments of the palace of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat.

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59. Maju pat.
60. Kuwadhagan.
61. Grama, angin, toya, bumi.
62. Roh.
63. Mahanani.
64. Kasaenan.
65. Cahya (as in the story of Dewa Ruci).
66. Ingkang Maha Kuwahos.
67. Jagat sahisinipun.
68. Maksut surahosipun.

Appendix 4: Two classificatory systems

KITAB PRIMBON

BETALJEMUR ADAMMAKNA

No. 1 Lungguhé dina lan Pasaran.

Dina lan Pasaran	Rupané	Panggonané	Kuthané	Banyuné	Kayuné	Manuké	Aksarané	Kang mengkoni
Akad	Klawu	Lor wétan	Abang	Segara	Wringin	Tuhu	Kitab 10	Adam
Senèn	Kuning	Lor kulon	Mas	Wédang	Kunir	Kuniran	„ 4	Brahim
Selasa	Biru	Kidul kulon	Slaka	Biru amis	Tangan	Bubut	„ 20	Isa
Rebo	Dhadhu	Kulon	Wesi	Udan	Nagasari	Ulung	„ 10	Musa
Kemis	Abang	Kidul wétan	Tembaga	Galuga	Secang	Kutut	„ 30	Idris
Jumuah	Ireng	Lor	Waja	Mangsi	Areng	Bèthèt	Alip	Muhammad
Sabtu	Putih	Kidul	Rejasa	Leri	Widara	Wangan	Kitab 51	Sis
Kliwon	Klawu	Tengah	Majupat	Madu	Gurdha	Gogik	ꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏ	Guru
Legi	Putih	Wétan	Slaka	Santen	Putih	Kuntul	ꦢꦠꦱꦮꦭ	Narada
Pahing	Abang	Kidul	Tembaga	Getih	Inggas	Engkuk	ꦥꦢꦗꦪꦚ	Brama
Pon	Kuning	Kulon	Mas	Sarkara	Kemuning	Podhang	ꦩꦒꦧꦛꦩ	Kamajaya
Wagé	Ireng	Lor	Wesi	Nila	Tlasih	Gagak	ꦲꦏꦠꦲꦫ	Wisnu

Taken from Kitab Primbon Betaljemur Adammakna (Tjakraningrat 1982), a popular almanack for purposes of divination in Yogyakarta, these two tables show classifications structured according to the seven-day and the five day week. An English translation follows below.

APPENDIX 4 (continued)

Day and Market-day	Colour	Place	Metal	Liquid	Tree/ Wood	Bird	Letter or Number	Guardian
Sunday	Grey	North-east	'red' (abang?)	Sea water	Banyan	Cuckoo	Book 10	Adam
Monday	Yellow	North-west	Gold	Hot water	Turmeric	Kuniran	Book 4	Abraham
Tuesday	Blue	South-west	Silver	Blue and rancid	Tangan[1]	Bubut[8]	Book 20	Jesus
Wednesday	Pink	West	Iron	Rain	Hardwood[2]	Hawk	Book 10	Moses
Thursday	Red	South-east	Copper	Red Dye	Secang[3]	Dove	Book 30	Idris
Friday	Black	North	Steel	Ink	Charcoal	Bethet[9]	Alip	Muhammad
Saturday	White	South	Solder	Rice water	Widara[4]	Wangan	Book 51	Sis
Kliwon	Grey	Centre	Mixture	Honey	Banyan	Gogek	tu wa	Guru (Siwa)
Legi	White	East	Silver	Coconut cream	Camphor	White heron	ha na ca ra ka	Narada
Pahing	Red	South	Cooper	Blood	Inggas[5]	Kite	da ta sa wa la	Brahma
Pon	Yellow	West	Gold	Sugar	Kemuning[6]	Yellow	pa dha ja ya nya	Kamajaya
Wage	Black	North	Iron	Indigo	Tlasih[7]	Minor	ma ga ba tha nga[10]	Wisnu

Notes

1. Tanganan: Schefflera elliptica, Harms. 2. Mesua ferra, L. 3. Caesalpinia Sappan, L.
4. Merremia mamosa, H.f. or Strychnos Tigustrina, B.I. 5. Gluta renghan, L. or Semecarpus hereophylla, Dc.
6. Murraya exotica, L.(?) 7. Ocimum Basilicum, L. (Heyne 1916-22).
8. A small owl or kind of cuckoo (Pigeaud 1938 a). 9. A parrot-like bird (Pigeaud 1938 a).
10. Ha to nga are the letters of the Javanese alphabet.

APPENDIX 5 : Other Arts Organisations in Yogyakarta*

Organisation	Status/Organiser	Activities	Comments
A. Classical Dance			
1. Studio Tari Indonesia	Private (Sudarman)	Classical	Little sigh of activity
2. Arena Budaya	Private (Sunarno BA)	Surakarta style	
3. Puri Eka Budaya	Private (Suradel BA)	- do -	
4. Puri Sukawati	Private (Drs Ari Goenawan)	No data	
5. Yayasan ASTI	ASTI	Classical, 'new creations', Balinese, Sundanese	Informal groups, students and staff of ASTI teach
6. Sanggar Natya Lakshito	Private (D. Hadiprayitjo)	- do -	ASTI graduate, alias Didik Nini Thowok several branches
7. Kesenian Intam Suwandi	Private (Ny. Suwandi)	No Data	
8. Surya Kencana	Private (R.M. Ywanana)	Classical Yogyakartan style: Kethoprak	Run by palace; grand-children in local community pendhapa (pavilion)

* This table includes all organisations listed by the Kantor Wilayah Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Bagian Kesenian (Arts Office of the Ministry of Education and Culture), as of December 1982. Officials here pointed out that many organisations in town do not register, and most of the ones in the four regencies do not bother, so organisations known to me or mentioned have been added. It should also be noted that local communities and professional groups also have organisations for aristic activities. For the sake of comparison, cross-regional data about dance and drama forms referred to in my text are also given, under 'Supplementary Data'.

APPENDIX 5 (continued)

Organisation	Status/Organiser	Activities	Comments
9. Irama Tari	Private	Yogyakartan-style	Classes for little girls
10. Pendidikan Taman Budaya	Gadjah Mada University (Ny Sudjitu)	Various	Includes Yogyakartan-style, formerly run by HBIX's youngest daughter, and Surakartan-style. Two hundred students and fourteen teachers.
11. Lembaga Pembina Seni Tari Prambanan	Yayasan Rara Janggrang (Head = KGPAA Paku Alam XII) (Topo Margono)	Dance-ballet mainly Surakartan-style	Training of school children for the Ramayana Ballet
12. Arena Bina Budaya	DIY Inspectorate of Arts, Sleman		Teachers from ASTI and SMKI-KONRI
13. Pusat Olah Seni Condronegoro	Private (Y. Sumandiyo Hadi)	Yogyakartan, Surakartan, Balinese, Sundanese, kreasi baru.	Started late 1983 by Head of Composition Faculty, ASTI
B. MODERN/CONTEMPORARY DANCE ARTS			
14. Bengkel Tari Nini Thowok	Private (D. Hadiprayitno)		See 6
15. Institute of Fine Art Wisnoewardhana	Private (R.M. Wisnuwardhana)		A lull; the organiser is returning to classical style, basically Yogyakartan.

APPENDIX 5 (continued)

Organisation	Status/Organiser	Activities	Comments
16. Pusat Olah Tari Bagong Kussudjiardjo	Private (Bagong)		Classes
17. Padepokan	Private (- do -)		Advanced intensive dance retreat out of town
18. Slasuka	Private (Slamet Sukabul)	No data	
C. REGIONAL TRADITIONAL DANCE ORGANISATIONS			
19. Balinese			
20. Sulawesi			
21. Aceh			
D. BALLROOM			
22. The Blue Tango	Private (R.M. Herry Roos Giyanti)		
23. Indonesian Council of Dancing DIY	Private? (Let. Kol. Pol. Daryono)		
24. Majelis Seni Tari Ballroom Indonesia	Private (Adaryoko)		
25. The Ballroom Dancing Exercise	Private (Ny Ibrahim)		
26. Yud's Ballroom Modern Latin	Private (Yud Sudirta)		

APPENDIX 5 (continued) Supplementary Data

Form	Number	Comments	Source
Classical Dance	71	Town 17; Sleman 13; Bantul 16; Kulon Progo 2; Gunung Kidul 23	Monografi DIY:294-5
Wayang Wong	127	Town 7; Sleman 69; Bantul 41; Kulon Progo 8; Gunung Kidul 2	Monografi DIY:298
Wayang Topeng	8	Sleman 1; Bantul 1; Kulon Progo 1; Gunung Kidul 5	Monografi DIY:297
Langĕn Mandra Wanara	3	Town 1; Bantul 2	Monografi DIY:298
Tayuban	13	Town 3; Sleman 2; Bantul 2; Kulon Progo 1; Gunung Kidul 4	Monografi DIY:297
'New creations'	37	Throughout DIY	Monografi DIY:295
Jathilan	152	Town 5; Sleman 89; Bantul 43; Kulon Progo 11; Gunung Kidul 4	Monografi DIY:297
Reyog	127	Town 6; Sleman 13; Bantul 33; Kulon Progo 21; Gunung Kidul 54	Monografi DIY:297
Kĕthoprak	11 525	In town and Sleman Town 38; Sleman 168; Bantul 97; Kulon Progo 133; Gunung Kidul 89	PDK Monografi DIY:297
'Modern drama'	28	Town and Sleman	PDK

APPENDIX 5 (continued) Supplementary data (continued)

Form	Number	Comments	Source
Puppetry	4	In town	PDK
Puppeteers	370	Town 35; Sleman 133; Bantul 64; Kulon Progo 56; Gunung Kidul 83	Monografi DIY:298
Wayang Golek	3	Town 1; Sleman 1; Kulon Progo 1	- do -
Wayang Klitik	1	Sleman	- do -
Wayang Gĕdhog	1	Bantul	- do -
Dhagĕlan	54	Town 29; Sleman 3; Bantul 8; Kulon Progo 5; Gunung Kidul 9	- do
Painting/sculpture leather-painting/ mask-making	17	In town; not many bother to register; leather-work is mostly puppet-making	PDK

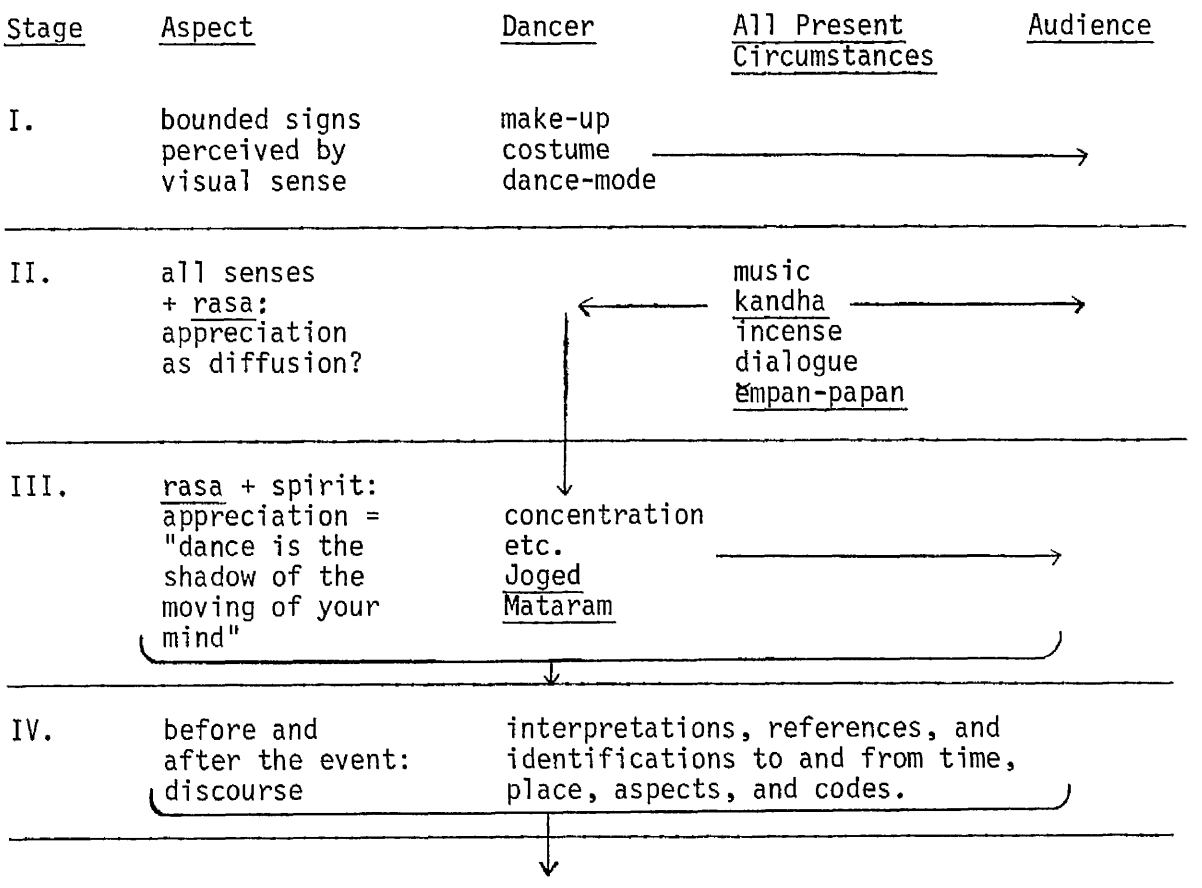
APPENDIX 6 : Lair-batin Perspectives

Category	Lair	Batin
Action	Behaviour	Explanation
Tactics	Doing→action	Not doing→'calm'
Condition	Real	Hypothetical
Explained in terms of	Overdetermination	Underdetermination
History	Propaganda	Identity
Process	Causal	Post de facto
Time	'Real'	Reversible
Space	Substantial	Figurative
Nature	Biological	Metaphysical
Perception	Five senses + rasa →action	Rasa + abstract inner senses →knowledge
Knowledge	Memory	Deferred
Self	Passions controlled, and social reference	I = God

This table illustrates the effect of the lair and batin perspectives on various categories, and shows the limitation of speaking of lair and batin simply in terms of 'out' and 'in', or 'exoteric' and 'esoteric'.

APPENDIX 7 : Dance Stimuli, Perceptions,and Identifications

This table presents the inter-relations of significance between the elements of dance as performance and practice and others area of perception and discourse which have formed the subject of this study. It should be taken as a diagrammatic simplification, not as a model.



SIMPLIFIED GLOSSES OF COMMONLY-USED TERMS[1]

abangan: Javanese person of no particular rank or affiliation
abdidalĕm: palace official
adiluhung: things which are valued
aku: I, me
alam: world, environment
alus: unnatural, desirable
antawacana: speaking style in Wayang Wong
Arjuna: third-born Pandhawa
ati: liver ('heart')
atma: 'spirit, soul'
babad: chronicle
bagongan: palace language
bangsal: pavilion
Batak: dancer in Bĕdhaya
Bathara Guru: Siwa
bathik: cloth painted with wax and then dyed
Bĕdhaya: dance for between six and nine females
bĕdhaya: dancer of Bĕdhaya
beteng: fort
bĕksa: 'dance'
Bĕksan: collection of dance movements
Bima: second-born Pandhawa
budaya; kabudayaan: civilised, civilisation
cara: 'way'
cara jawa: actualisation of Javanese 'culture'
dalĕm: house; of the Sultan; I, me
dĕdĕg: physical presence
dhagĕlan: verbal comedy
dhalang: puppeteer; narrator
durung: not yet

1. This list provides reminders, not translations; excessive simplifications are given in inverted commas.

eling: remember, be aware
ĕmpan-papan: 'knowing one's place'
ĕmpu: master, expert
Endhel: dancer in Bĕdhaya
gamĕlan: ensemble of instruments and the sound they make
Garĕbĕg: processional palace ceremony
garudha: griffin
garwa ampeyan: secondary wife of Sultan
Gathotkaca: son of Bima
gĕndhing: melodies played on gamĕlan
gerong: male singers
golek: round rod puppet
Golek: dance for one female
Golek Menak: dance for two females; a dance drama
golongan: 'group'
grĕgĕd: dynamism
gunungan: rice mountain; 'wand' in shadow play
hawa nafsu: passions, desires
jaba: outside
jagad: sphere, world, universe, cosmos
janggrung: dancing outside the palace (female)
jarwa dhosok: forced etymology
jawa: Javanese (culture)
jĕro: inside
jiwa: 'spirit'
joged: 'dance'
Joged Mataram: a dance philosophy
kagungan dalĕm: possession of the Sultan
kampung: urban neighbourhood
kandha: chanted introduction to a performance
Kangjĕng Ratu Kidul: Queen of the South Sea
kasar: natural, undesirable
Kasultanan: Sultan's palace, Yogyakarta
Kasunanan: Susuhunan's palace, Surakarta
kawula-gusti: servant-lord
kĕbatinan: Javanese 'psychology', 'mysticism'

kĕpanjingan: possessed, in trance
kĕrata basa: explication
kĕris: Javanese dagger
kesenian (B.I.): art
kĕtawang: musical form
Kĕtawang: name of a Surakartan Bĕdhaya
Kĕthoprak: history drama
Klana: dance for one male
Korawa: 'losing' side in Mahābhārata
krama: polite language
kraton: 'palace, court'
labuhan: offering (on water)
lagon: short song
lair-batin: 'exoteric-esoteric'
lajuran: first part and formations of Bĕdhaya
lakon: action, plot
lawung: spear, name of male dance
Langĕndriya: dance opera
lĕnggah: to sit
loka: sphere, world
luwĕs: pleasing, fluent
macapat: sung poetic metres
madĕp: settled (as of coffee grounds)
madya: semi-polite language
magang: apprentice
mancanĕgara .: outlying regions
mantĕp: assured, steady
mapan: in place
Mataram: kingdom(s) in Central Java
Maulud: the Prophet's birthday
naluri: things passed down, 'tradition(s)'
nĕgara: state
nĕgara Agung: core territories
ngoko: familiar language
ora mingku: do not turn back

pahlawan (B.I.): hero
pamrih: expectations, motives
pañcadriya (pañcaĕndriya): five senses
Pancasila: five principles
Pandhawa: 'winning' side in Mahābhārata
pasaran: five-day week
pasĕmon: facial expression, allusion
pathokan: preconditions for dance patrap: arrangement, disposition
pelog: seven-tone tuning system in gamĕlan
pĕncak silat: fighting techniques
pĕndhapa: open-sided building
pĕrang: fight, conflict
pĕrmaisuri: queen
pĕsindhen: singer(s)
pocapan: dialogue in dance drama and duets
priyayi: old-style bureaucracy
punakawan: attendant, 'clown' in shadow play
pusaka (dalĕm): heirloom (of the palace)
putra dalĕm: prince
Putri: female dance mode
putri dalĕm: princess
rame: lively
rasa: sense
ringgit: puppet; performer in Wayang Wong
ronggeng: female dancer outside the palace
rukun: harmonious appearances
sajen: offering
saka guru: central pillars in pĕndhapa
sandiwara (B.I.): modern situation drama
santri: orthodox Muslim
Sari Tunggal: training dance for females
sasmita: cue for musicians
satriya: 'knight', 'gentleman'
sĕkti: attributed powers
sĕlamatan: communal meal

sĕlir: concubine
Sĕmang: now defunct Bĕdhaya from Yogyakarta
Sĕmar: senior punakawan in shadow play
sĕmĕdhi: contemplation
Sendratari (B.I.): dance ballet
sĕngguh: confidence
sĕntana-dalĕm: palace kin
sĕrat: writing, book, letter
sĕwiji: concentration
slendro: five-tone tuning system in gamĕlan
Srikandhi: second wife of Arjuna
Srimpi: dance for four (or five) females
srimpi: dancer of Srimpi
surasa (suraos k.): 'interpretation'
Taman Siswa: educational system in Yogyakarta
tari (B.I.): dance
tari klasik (B.I.): classical dance
tata cara: 'correct manners'
tatakrama: knowing and doing things according to cara jawa.
tayuban: drinking party with a tayub dancer
topeng: mask
toya mili: flowing water
trah: ancestor group
tumpĕng: small rice cone for offering
udhĕt: dance sash
upacara: regalia; (B.I.) ceremony
wangsalan: elaborate pun
watak: 'character'
wayah dalĕm: palace grandchild
Wayang Wong: dance drama

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASRI:	Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia (Academy of Fine Arts)
ASTI:	Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (Academy of Dance)
BRA:	Bĕndara Raden Ayu (title for married lady)
DIY:	Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Special Region of Yogyakarta)
GPH:	Gusti Pangeran Harya (princely title)
GBPH:	Gusti Bendara Pangeran Harya (princely title)
HB:	Hamĕngku Buwana (Sultan(s) of Yogyakarta)
IKIP:	Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (Institute of Teacher Training and the Science of Education)
KBW:	Kridha Bĕksa Wirama (dance organisation)
KGPAA:	Kangjĕng Gusti Pangeran Adipari Arya (princely title)
KGPA:	Kangjĕng Gusti Pangeran Arya (princely title)
KHP:	Kawĕdanan Hageng Punakawan (designates administrative section in Kasultanan)
KPA:	Kangjĕng Pangeran Arya (princely title)
KRT:	Kangjĕng Raden Tumĕnggung (official title)
PBN:	Pamulangan Bĕksa Ngayogyakarta (dance organisation)
PDK:	Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Ministry of Education and Culture)
RA:	Raden Ayu (title for married lady)
RK:	Rukun Kampung
RL:	Raden Lurah (official title)
RT:	Rukun Tĕtangga (street community)
SAB:	Siswa Among Bĕksa (dance organisation)
SD:	Sekolah Dasar (primary school)
SMKI-KONRI:	Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia-Konservatori Tari (designations of the secondary dance academy, in the process of being changed)
SMTA:	Sekolah Menengah Tingkat Atas (second stage of secondary education)
SMTP:	Sekolah Menengah Tingkat Pertama (first stage of secondary education)
VOC:	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East Indies Company)

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS: Notes

1. Bĕdhaya Gĕnjong for the Sultan's birthday, 19 February 1983, in the Pagĕlaran of the Kasultanan: the sĕmbah.

2. Bĕdhaya Gĕnjong: the fight between Batak and Endhel.

3. Bĕdhaya Ngambararum for Independence Day celebrations at the Mangkubumen, 2/ August 1983, performed by members of Siswa Among Bĕksa: kapang-kapang mundur; exit march.

4. Srimpi, as practised in the Kasultanan on Pon Sunday, 24 October 1982: the fight.

5. Srimpi Rĕnggowati, as practised in the Bangsal Kĕsatriyan, the Kasultanan, on Pon Sunday, 28 November 1982: Rĕnggawati holding the mliwis; (the dancer's mother is in the background photographing her daughter).

6. Golek for Independence Day celebrations in the Suryawijayan: atur-atur sequence (notice the photographs of the President and Vice-President).

7. Wayang Wong, Gathotkaca gĕndhaga fragment as part of Independence Day celebrations in the Mangkubumen compound, 27 August 1983: Rama (left) dancing in the Impur mode and his retinue, dancing Putri.

8. Wayang Wong, Gathotkaca lair for the Sultan's birthday, 19 February 1983, in the Pagĕlaran: the gods prepare to rise.

9. Wayang purwa: shadow play, Bima sĕkti, performed at Mĕrgangsan for a circumcision 21 May 1983 by the puppeteer K. Timbul: the Pandhawa and attendants (punakawan).

10. Langĕndriya (dance opera), performed by Siswa Among Bĕksa in the Kĕpatihan to close the dance-ballet competition, 22 October 1983.

11. Bĕksan Lawung Jajar, 'lance dance by the jajar', performed by pupils of SMKI-KONRI at Taman IsmailMarzuki, Jakarta, 19 January 1983.

12. Tugu Wasesa, as No.10.

13-59 : Patrap for Putri, Yogyakartan-palace style, also with some common errors, demonstrated by BRA Yudanĕgara.

13. Ngruji, left hand position.

14. Ngithing hand position.

15. Nyĕmpurit, right hand position.

16. Ngĕpel hand position.

17. Sila panggung, female sitting position: notice the hands, the height of the knees, and the feet, well hidden under the skirt.

18. Sĕmbah: notice the position of the thumbs in relation to the nose.

19. Jengkeng, kneeling on one knee: notice the hands in ngithing and ngĕpel.

20. Panggĕl, the first position after standing up: the gaze is over the hand holding the sash.

21. Duduk wuluh: notice the hands.

22. Gĕdrug, the beginning, where the toes start to draw back the fold (sarĕdan) of the skirt.

23. Ibid., the end: notice the position of the toes on the ground.

24. Tolehan, the neck movement showing the desired 'figure of eight', pattern.

25. Ibid., done incorrectly.

26. Mĕndhak nyiku, knee-bend with arms bent at elbows, done correctly.

27. Ibid., with arms in the wrong position.

28. Ngleyek, right foot taking weight; done correctly.

29. Ibid., with body weight incorrectly distributed.

30. Ngoyog, leaning, done correctly, from the top of the thighs (cĕthik).

31. Ibid., done incorrectly, from the knee.

32. Ibid., done incorrectly, from the side of the body.

33. Ibid., done correctly, side view.

34. Ibid., done correctly, back view.

35. Ibid., done incorrectly, back view.

36. Ĕncot: bringing weight up off foot, correctly.

37. Ibid., bringing weight up off knee, incorrectly.

38. Jimpit udhĕt, taking up the sash correctly: notice the fingers.

39. Ibid., done incorrectly.

40. Mumbul, fingers raise sash before lowering it: notice fingers and wrist.

41. Ibid., done incorrectly.

42. Patrap suku, arrangement of feet: notice the angle of the left foot and the up-turned right toes, called nyĕkĕnthing , and arms in sĕduwa.

43. Kicat nyangkol, small, sideways steps with one foot passing in front of the other, the sash pulled round the elbow: notice the body angle and depth of the bend at the knees.

44. Ibid., back view.

45. Nyambĕr, flying (about to start running in little steps), from the back.

46. Ulap-ulap, 'looking', first section.

47. Ibid., second section.

48. Wĕdi kengsĕr tumpang tali, showing the movement after the traverse when the right foot is lifted and the hands turn, before shuffling back to the starting place.

49. Nglayang 'flying', both hands push away from the body.

50. Ibid., right hand about to be stretched to the right side of the body.

51. Atrap sumping, fixing earrings, notice left hand.

52. Ibid., done incorrectly: the left hand is in ngithing; this is however PBN practice.

53. Atrap cundhuk, fixing crown: again notice left hand.

54. Ibid., done incorrectly, for the same reason as No.52; again, this is acceptable in PBN practice.

55. Tasikan, 'powdering': starting the movement, nyudut.

56. Ibid., having drawn finger before brow, and turning body.

57. Pucang-kangingan, 'areca palm in the wind': similar to No.43 above, but done on the spot, moving body-weight from side to side.

58. Ombak banyu 'waves of water', in which the body moves from left to right, with the foot emptied of weight lifted slightly off the floor.

59. Gajah ngoling 'elephant saluting', showing the hands before they move away from the face.

60. Impur mode, Wayang Wong: sila marikĕlu 'sitting like a bent stem of rice'.

61. Impur mode, Wayang Wong: Rama walking.

62. Kambĕng mode, Wayang Wong: Bima walking.

63. Bangsal Kĕncana, in the Sultan's palace, taken from the north-east; the stage (tratag) is to the left.

64. Tayungan 'walking', a training for male modes, as practised in the Bangsal Kĕsatriyan, Sunday, 7 November 1982.

65-
67. Sari Tunggal training for Putri in the Bangsal Kĕsatriyan, 7 November 1982: the three teachers observe and correct errors by physical adjustment or demonstration: necks, wrists and elbows gain the most attention at this stage.

68. Garĕbĕg Maulud: the Sultan (below parasol), preceded by tne Nyutra corps carrying shields, and the manggung bearing his regalia; Plate XI, Groneman 1895.

69. Garĕbĕg Besar, 17 September 1983. The Nyutra corps passing Bangsal Pancaniti, with the female rice mountain visible between the two flags.

70. Kandha Waru: talking under the tree by the South Square of the palace, Yogyakarta.

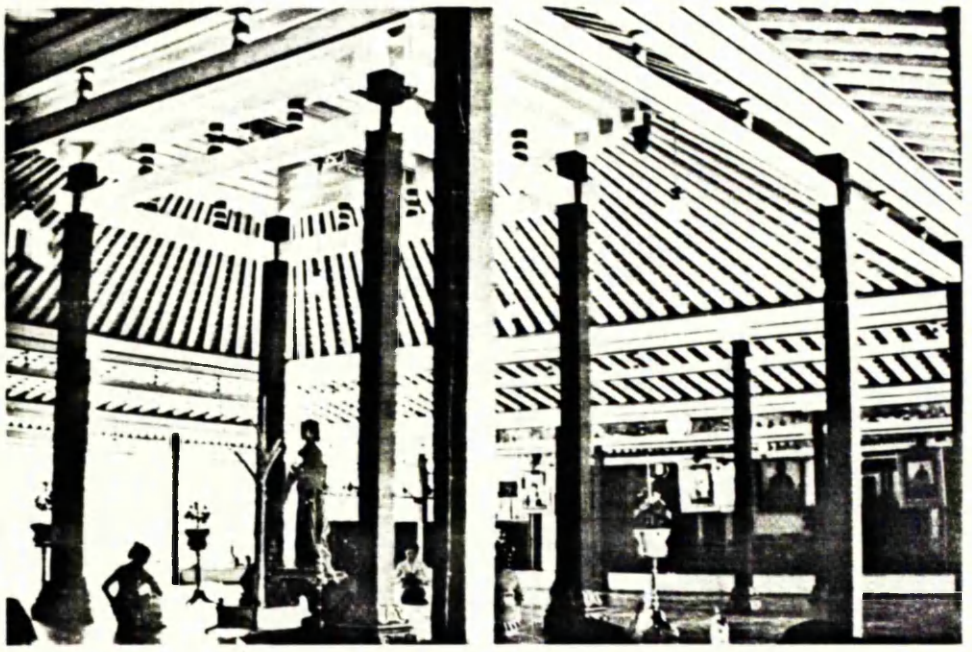
71. Sĕrat pasindhen sarta bĕksa Bĕdhaya Semang: ms BS IB Kridha Mardawa archive, containing the lyrics (left-hand column) and dance movements (right-hand column) of the Bĕdhaya Sĕmang; first right-hand page of text.

1. Bĕdhaya: sĕmbah

2. Bĕdhaya: fight between Batak and Endhel

3. Bĕdhaya: kapang-kapang mundur (exit march)

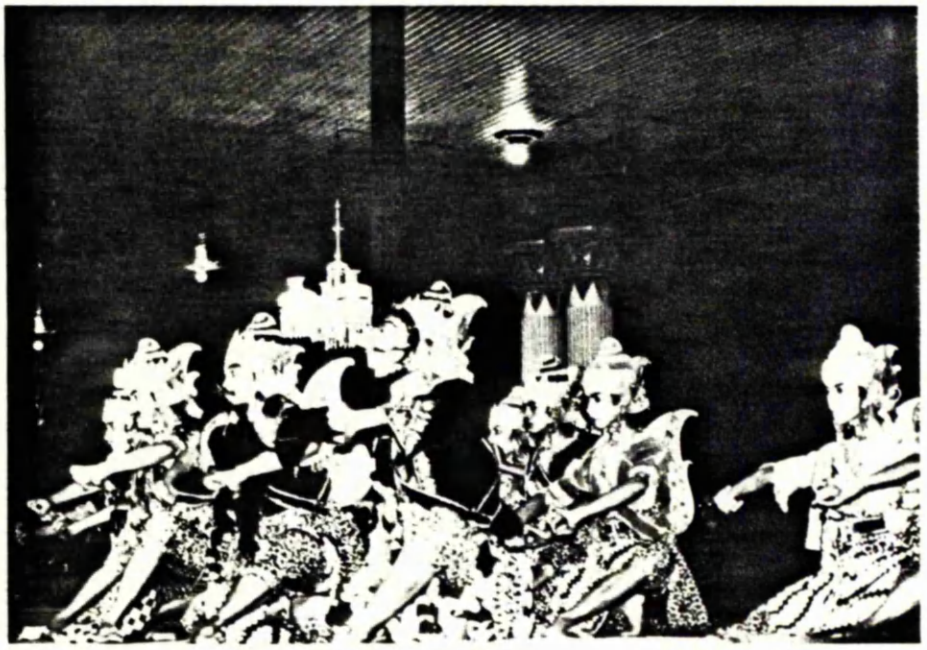
4. Srimpi: fight



5. Srimpi Rĕnggawati

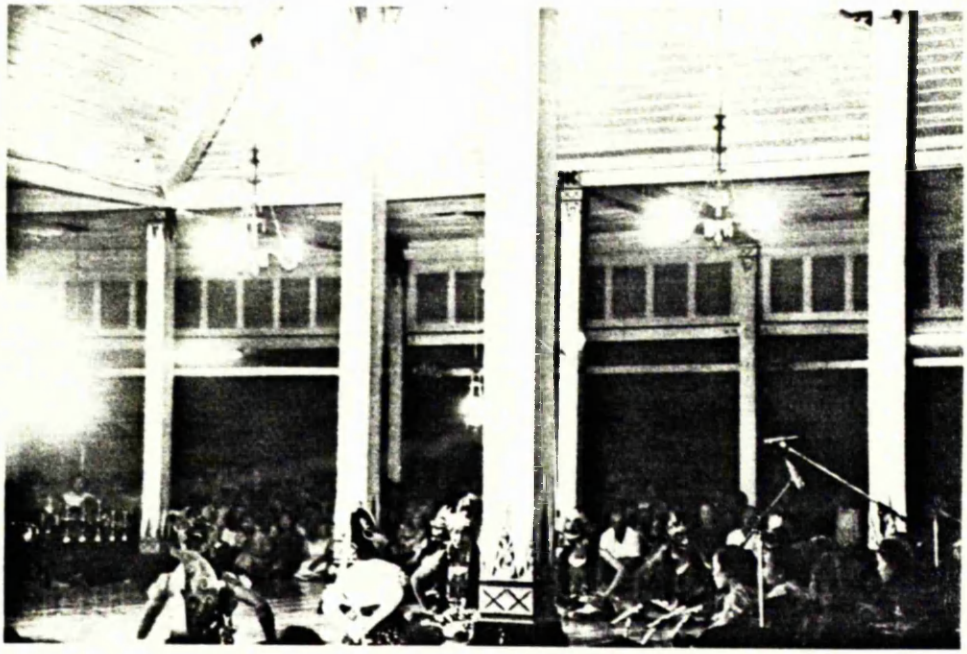
6. Golek: atur-atur

7. Wayang Wong



8. Wayang Wong

9. Wayang purwa: shadow play



10. Langĕndriya: dance opera

11. Bĕksan Lawung

12. Bĕksan Tugu Wasesa

13. Ngruj i

14. Ngithing

15. Nyĕmpurit

16. Ngĕpel

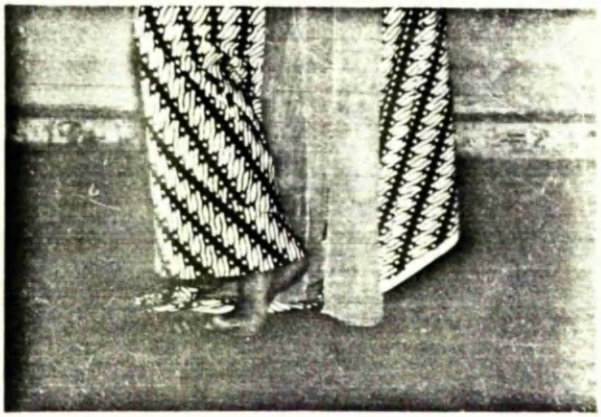
17. Sila panggung

18. Sĕmbah

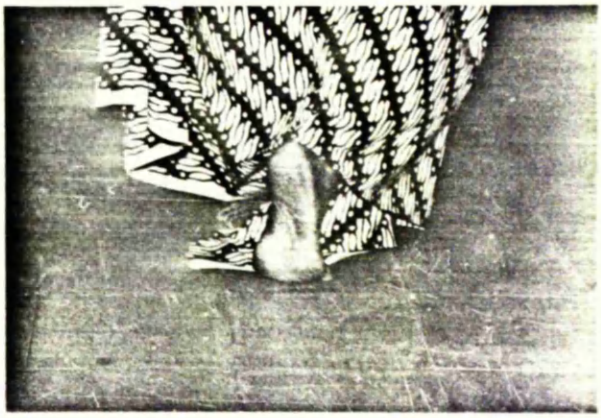
19. Jengkeng

20. Panggĕl

21. Duduk wuluh



22. Gĕdrug: beginning



23. Gĕdrug: end

24. Tolehan: correct

25. Tolehan: incorrect

26. Mĕndhak nyiku: correct

27. Mĕndhak nyiku: incorrect

28. Ngleyek: correct

29. Ngleyek: incorrect

30. Ngoyog: correct

31. Ngoyog: incorrect
(from the knee)

32. Ngoyog: incorrect
(from the sides)

33. Ngoyog: correct

34. Ngoyog: correct

35. Ngoyog: incorrect

36. Ěncot: correct

37. Ěncot: incorrect

38. Jimpit udhĕt: correct

39. Jimpit udhĕt: incorrect

40. Mumbul: correct

41. Mumbul: incorrect

42. Patrap suku

43. Kicat nyangkol

44. Kicat nyangkol

45. Nyambĕr

46. Ulap-ulap

47. Ulap-ulap, continued

48. Wĕdi kengsĕr: lifting foot and turning hands

59. Gajah ngoling

49. Nglayang

50. Nglayang

51. Atrap sumping: correct

52. Atrap sumping: incorrect

53. Atrap cundhuk: correct

54. Atrap cundhuk: incorrect

55. Tasikan

56. Tasikan

57. Pucang-kangingan

58. Ombak banyu

60. Impur mode: sitting

63. Bangsal Kĕncana

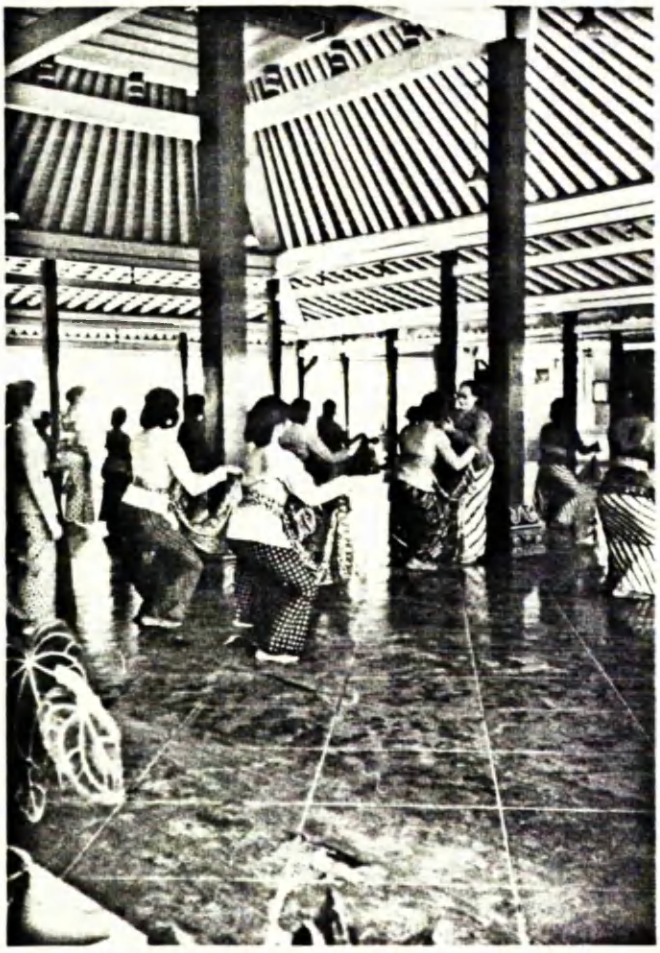
61. Impur mode : walking

62. Kambĕng mode : walking

64. Male training: Tayungan

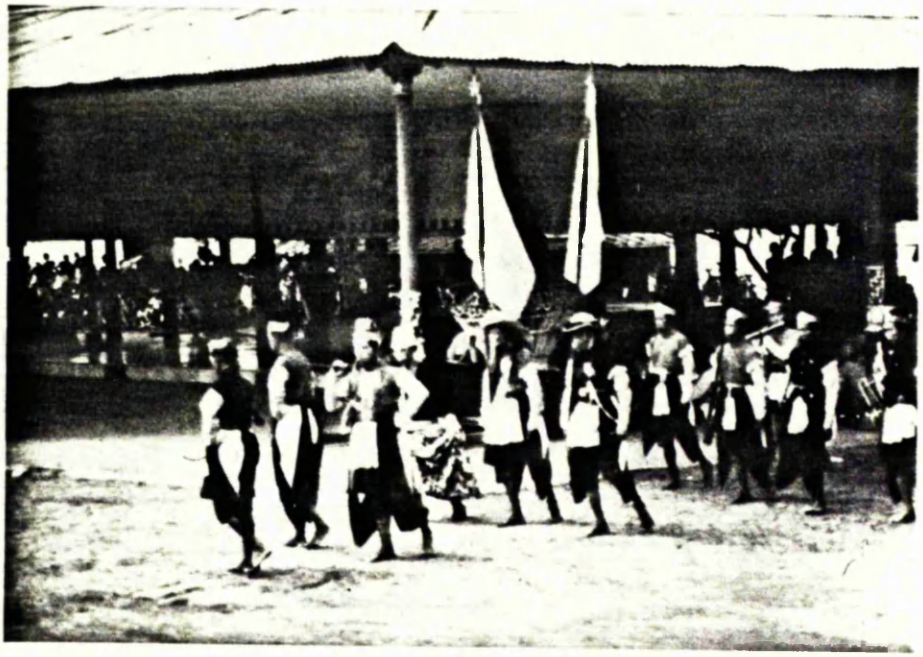
65. Female training: Sari Tunggal

66. Female training: Sari Tunggal



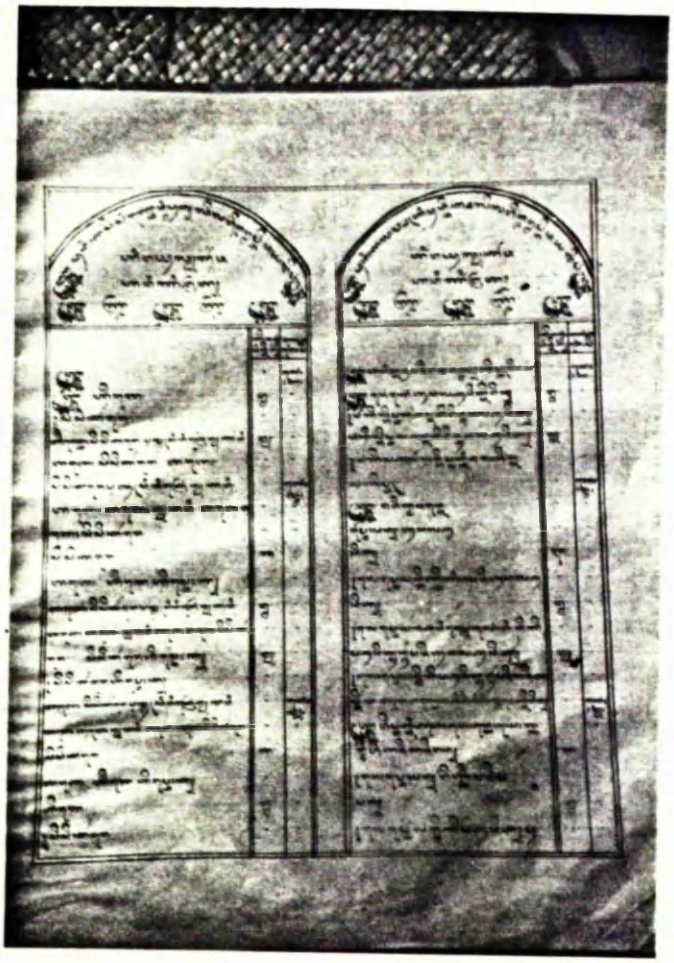
67. Female training:
Sari Tunggal

68. Nyutra corps at Garĕbĕg, 1895



69. Nyutra corps at Garĕbĕg, 1983

70. Kandha Waru: talking under the tree



71. Bĕdhaya Sĕmang manuscript

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